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Social Class and Personality Structure . . . 355
ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

Marital Roles and Marriage Adjustment . . . 364
YI-CHUANG LU

Social Myths in Soviet Communism . . . 369
EDWARD C. McDONAGH

Children and Women's Work 377
RALPH H. TURNER

Models Illustrating Sociological Concepts . . 382
JOSEPH A. CAVANAUGH

Max Weber's Concept of Understanding . . 389
EDWARD N. PALMER

The International Student 392
EMORY S. BOGARDUS

Social Welfare 396

Social Theory 404

Peoples and Culture 402

Social Fiction 417

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

July-August 1952

SOCIAL CLASS AND BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

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This paper is addressed to the question: Do different social classes produce different basic personalities? and, If so, how do they do it? For this discussion it will be useful to make a broad distinction between the concepts of basic personality and value, which separates the two into different but contiguous domains of meaning, instead of the often-used distinction in which *personality* is an inclusive term which covers values as well as other aspects of behavior. By basic personality we shall mean the organization of the drives and the emotions of the individual. Using the metaphor of depth, we shall mean by basic personality the deeper-lying parts of mental behavior, and by values certain more overt and visible aspects of mental behavior. Using the distinction between conscious and unconscious, we shall mean by personality the more unconscious aspects of mental behavior. Thus, we shall use *basic personality* in the same sense that the European psychologist intends when he speaks of *character-structure*.

To illustrate further what is meant by the term *basic personality* as it is used in this paper, we may list a number of aspects or characteristics of personality, such as inner (unconscious) feelings toward father or mother, inner feelings toward the opposite sex, strength of superego, guilt over impulses, emotional reactivity, system of impulse control, relations between impulse and behavior, degree of covert hostility.

Bearing this distinction in mind, it is probably true that social class is more closely associated with values than with basic personality.

How can a social group affect the basic personality of its members? Kardiner¹ has given us a useful theory to support the proposition that a

¹ Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

social group influences and to a large extent determines the personality of its members. Following his lead, we may state the following argument: (1) The early experiences of an individual have a lasting effect upon his personality. (2) Similar experiences will produce similar personality configurations. (3) Techniques employed in the care and rearing of children are culturally patterned and hence tend to be similar. (4) These cultural patterns of child-rearing differ among social classes. (5) Therefore, the personalities of people in the same social class will be similar, and people of different social classes will differ significantly in personality.

Provided the cultural patterns of child-rearing are quite similar in a social class, and provided that these patterns are significant in the formation of personality, we should expect that a social class would produce a characteristic societal basic personality.

However, personality certainly is not entirely determined by culturally patterned experiences in childhood or in any other age period. Personality is also partly determined by genetic factors, by chance factors such as a crippling disease or loss of one's father, and by intrafamily factors such as birth order, parents' attitudes toward the child, and personalities of siblings. Thus, even if there is a substantial similarity of personality between members of the same social class due to cultural similarities in their childhood experience, we should expect this similarity to coexist with diversity due to factors which have a wide variation within a social class.

The problem then becomes one of finding out how pervasive the similar personality-conditioning cultural factors are in social classes and how pervasive the differentiating individual factors are.

The evidence for cultural similarity among social classes in basic personality structure. Two types of evidence may be sought to support the proposition that there is a relatively great degree of similarity in basic personality within a given social class and a relatively great difference between social classes.

The first type of evidence consists of data on methods of rearing and training children. Although these data are scanty, the existing studies confirm one another. For example, Davis and Havighurst² found that upper-middle- and upper-lower-class Chicago families differed substantially in the ages at which they weaned their children and started bowel and bladder training, in the amount of breast feeding and use of pacifiers,

² Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, 11:698-710, 1946.

and in expectations of their slightly older children with respect to taking naps, time of being in the house in the evening, going to movies alone, and learning to cook, sew, and wash dishes.

If training with respect to feeding and excreting is partially determinative of basic personality, this is evidence that social class is related to basic personality.

Another study of parent-child relationships reveals another set of differences which probably result in personality differences between social classes. Maas has studied parent-child relationships in lower-lower-class families and in what he calls the "core-culture" (Warner's lower-middle and upper-lower classes or his Common Man Level). In the lower-lower class Maas finds evidence of a "psychologically closed, hierarchical, and quite rigid parental relationship with children; in the core culture a more open, ostensibly equalitarian and flexible relationship."³ These differences of parent-child relationships create personality differences in the areas of impulse control and of security feelings, according to observations of Maas on relations between peers and between children and club leaders.

The second type of evidence consists of data on the actual differences of personality of people of different social classes. There is a variety of such evidence. Cattell⁴ summarizes a large number of studies of social class differences in acquired traits, most of which are at the level of values, attitudes, and habits. However, he cites several studies of aggressive and withdrawing tendencies and of ascendance-submission, which are fairly close to the basic personality level as we have defined it. The results of these studies are conflicting and do not permit an inference in favor of the hypothesis of class differences. Cattell also summarizes findings on psychosis, neurosis, and maladjustment. There is a relationship between type of psychosis and social class. There is also a less certain relationship between type of neurosis and social class. Consequently, if type of psychosis or neurosis be considered a manifestation of underlying personality characteristics, there is some evidence in these studies.

Perhaps more direct is the evidence of Kinsey⁵ on class differences in sexual behavior. While Kinsey reports principally on sex habits and practices which are on the overt level of behavior and therefore not a

³ Henry Maas, "Some Social Class Differences in the Family Systems and Group Relations of Pre- and Early Adolescents," *Child Development*, 22:345-52, 1951.

⁴ R. B. Cattell, "The Cultural Functions of Social Stratification: II Regarding Individual and Group Dynamics," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 21:25-56, 1948.

⁵ A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948).

part of basic personality as we are using the term, the inference seems plausible that lower-class people generally have a different type of impulse control and probably a different intensity of direct sex impulse from that of middle-class people.

The work of Jurgen Ruesch⁶ and his associates indicates that an unnecessarily high proportion of patients who have "delayed recovery"—chronic diseases followed by psychological invalidism—are lower-middle-class people (75 per cent of Ruesch's "delayed recovery" cases were lower-middle class, compared with 30 to 40 per cent of lower-middle-class people in the general population). Ruesch interprets this fact to mean that lower-middle-class people have the kind of personality that can accept prolonged care by doctors and nurses, who represent a kind of authority to which they can enjoyably conform. He believes that lower-class people, on the other hand, dislike authority and with it the doctor and the hospital, which are symbols of authority and dependence on authority. Ruesch also discovered that 39 per cent of his "delayed recovery" patients were upward mobile. This he explains as due to the fact that much social climbing is a neurotic manifestation of the drive for achievement, and he suggests that prolonged invalidism brings a welcome rest from the strain of climbing. Although Ruesch's interpretation is interesting and suggestive, he would probably be the first to say that a more systematic testing of his hypotheses is needed.

The study by Warner and Henry⁷ of lower-middle- and upper-lower-class women (Common Man level) who listen to radio daytime serials gives evidence of certain basic personality traits that are fairly common among these women and, presumably, not so prevalent among women of other social classes. A few cases of upper-middle-class women are presented, and these women show marked personality differences from the lower-middle upper-lower sample. The most outstanding characteristics of the psychological structures of the Common Man level housewife are reduced imagination and personal resources, impulse suppression, a struggle for personal control and a fear they will not succeed, apprehension of the unknown. There are other characteristics which appear to lie more at the periphery of mental life, in the value-attitude realm.

No claim is made that these women are a representative sample of American lower-middle- and upper-lower-class women. However, they

⁶ Jurgen Ruesch *et al.*, *Chronic Disease and Psychological Invalidism*, Psychosomatic Medicine Monographs (New York: The American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Problems, 1946).

⁷ W. Lloyd Warner and William E. Henry, "The Radio Daytime Serial: A Symbolic Analysis," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 37:3-71, 1948.

probably are a fair sample of such women who listen regularly to radio daytime serials.

The evidence for heterogeneity of basic personality in social classes. As soon as we move from statistical studies of groups of people to clinical studies of individuals, the facts of individual differences in personality come to the fore. Such differences may arise from inherited biological and temperamental differences, from significant accidents in the lives of individuals, and from intrafamily factors.

In their studies of children of lower-class families, Davis and Havighurst⁸ examined and interviewed two large families, one Negro and one white. Although the numerous children of these families were growing up to acquire the values and attitudes of their social class, they offered to the investigators a variety of basic personality structures. Comparing Mary and Paulette Washington, Helen Ross, the psychoanalyst, found Mary to have strong and rigid impulse controls, with her impulse life carefully regulated in its overt manifestation, while Paulette had weak impulse control and was overtly aggressive. In a quarrel between the two, Mary was angry but said to Miss Ross quietly, "Paulette is so mean and good-fer-nothin'!" Thereupon, Paulette turned a big toy gun on Mary and said, "I'm goin' to shoot your eyeballs out!" These two sisters show different inner feelings toward their mother and toward the opposite sex. They have formed different identifications with their parents. The two sisters have personality differences that are often said to be the differences between lower and middle classes. If Paulette can be said to have a "lower-class personality," then Mary, her sister, has more of a "middle-class personality."

Again, comparing Don and Carl Elno, Davis and Havighurst found Don to be generous, cheerful, and openly impulsive, while his brother Carl, two years younger, was stingy, anxious, controlled, and inhibited in show of impulse. There was evidence that the two boys had been trained differently in early childhood and, probably more important, that the mother had thoroughly and deeply loved Don but secretly rejected Carl. If Don could be said to have a "lower-class personality," then Carl should be said to have a "middle-class personality."

Elizabeth Hall Brady, in an unpublished master's thesis,⁹ reported her study of all the thirteen lower-lower-class children in a particular

⁸ Davis and Havighurst, *Father of the Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), Chaps. 2, 5, 13, 15, 17.

⁹ Elizabeth Hall Brady, "The Relationship between School Adjustment and Home Environment in a Selected Group of Children," M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago.

age-group in the Midwest community which we have been studying. She visited their homes, interviewed their parents, observed them at school, and studied test results. She found very little evidence of a single common or modal personality structure. Looking at her data with the aim of bringing out all the similarities of personality we can find, we detect three groups of personalities:

1. The aggressive, impulsive group. These boys and girls have strong aggressive impulses which they vent readily on the people around them. They have weak superegos. They are gregarious. They may have strong, hostile inner feelings toward one or both parents.

2. The intimidated ones. These boys and girls are weaklings in several senses of the word. Often they are physically small, suggesting a kind of "constitutional inferiority." Often they have below-average intelligence. They are apprehensive of life. They have average superego strength. Their impulses are under rigid control, and their impulse life is weak at best. They seem to be situated near the border line of schizophrenia.

3. The socialized, successful group. These boys and girls have learned to organize their impulses and to release them in socially acceptable ways. They have generally positive inner feelings about parents and age-mates. They have little guilt over inner impulses. They do well in school and at work. They will be upward mobile.

We do not know the relative sizes of these three subgroups, but we believe they occur with such appreciable frequency in the lower-lower class that this class must be said to have at least three characteristic personality configurations.

There is similar evidence of heterogeneity in other social classes. For example, William Henry has made personality studies of business executives¹⁰ in which he finds a characteristic type of basic personality among successful business executives. These men have positive inner feelings toward the father and toward authority, a "strong self-structure," and well-organized channels for an active impulse life.

Henry's studies indicate that a considerable group of middle-class businessmen possess similar basic personalities, but there are unsuccessful businessmen in the middle class who have different personalities. There are middle-class artists, teachers, accountants, and housewives with probably different personalities from those of the successful business executives. Hence, Henry's study can be taken as evidence for heterogeneity of basic personality in the upper-middle class.

¹⁰ William E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:286-91, 1949.

Another type of evidence of heterogeneity of basic personality within a social class is the fact of social mobility. According to estimates based on several kinds of data,¹¹ between 15 and 20 per cent of Americans are upward mobile, at least one class in a five-class system. If there are class-typed personalities and if people have the characteristic personality of the class into which they move, then they must have contributed to heterogeneity of the class from which they came when they were children. On the other hand, if they have the characteristic personality of the class into which they were born, then they must bring heterogeneity into the class to which they move. Still a third possibility is that the upward-mobile person has a special personality structure (strong achievement drive, weak inner feelings toward parents, etc.) which contributes to heterogeneity in any class where he temporarily hangs his hat.

The strongest evidence we have for heterogeneity comes from the personality study we have made of 34 boys and girls in a Midwestern community, from the ages of ten to eighteen. We studied these 34 children intensively, with a variety of psychological techniques including several administrations of the Rorschach test, the TAT, and a Sentence Completion Test. Toward the end of the study we made ratings of these boys and girls on a number of personality variables. There were no noticeable social class differences in basic personality.

The test for social class differences in this study was not as satisfactory as we might wish, for two reasons. First, the sample was made up principally of three classes—lower-lower, upper-lower, and lower-middle. Only one upper-middle-class person appeared in the sample, and no upper-class individuals. The reason for this was that this particular age-group had no upper-class representatives and very few upper-middle-class individuals. The second reason for lack of satisfaction with this situation was that the 34 boys and girls were not a random sample of the total group. They were chosen to exaggerate the proportions of boys and girls of very good and very poor adjustment. However, they certainly illustrate the range of personalities in the group, and there is no reason to suppose that they systematically distort the data on personality for any one social class.

How classes may be said to differ in personality. Whatever degree of similarity within a class and of difference between classes there is in

¹¹ Estimates are based on actual mobility from birth status to initial adult status in a Midwestern community and on the facts about differential reproductive rates in the various social classes, the upper and middle classes not producing enough children to replace themselves. Estimates from these two different sources are in substantial agreement.

basic personality structure, it seems certain that social classes do have a considerably greater degree of homogeneity with respect to values, attitudes, and habits than they do with respect to the more basic characteristics of personality. For example, our studies show that the values assigned by people to education appear to be strongly, though not completely, class typed.

As long as we limit ourselves to basic personality structure, however, we can expect to find no more than statistical differences between classes. One class has a greater proportion of people with certain basic personality characteristics than another class, but both classes have practically the same range and variety.

Conclusions. A social class is probably not just a random sample of the total population of a society, with respect to basic personality structure. It shows systematic differences from other social classes of such a significance that one might find, for example, 50 per cent of one social class sharing a certain basic personality configuration, and not more than 35 per cent of any other class sharing this same configuration. Presumably, this degree of homogeneity is due to the cultural similarity of personality-forming experience within a social class. But the dissimilarity of personality-forming experience—due to genetic factors, accidental factors, and intrafamily differences—is so great as to limit severely the effect of the cultural similarities.

Consequently, it seems more useful to employ the term *modal* personality than Kardiner's term *societal basic* personality in describing the personality elements common to a social class. There are modal personality characteristics—ones that occur with greatest frequency—but these are not universal within a social class.

The evidence available on basic personality in relation to social class is fullest for the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, called sometimes the Common Man level. About 65 to 70 per cent of the population fall into these two classes. There is very little evidence of basic personality difference between lower-middle and upper-lower classes. Hence, what differences do appear between social classes tend to be deviations from the core or Common Man pattern. The lower-lower class deviates, according to some evidence, but it also has ample heterogeneity within it, some lower-lower-class people being very similar in basic personality to the modal upper-lower-class person.

Deviations of upper-middle and upper classes in basic personality from the Common Man level may be rather great, but we do not have much evidence on this point. The best evidence is on upper-middle class, and

it indicates a somewhat more rigorous and suppressive set of impulse controls, somewhat more drive for achievement (more sublimation of impulse), and a superego somewhat more accessible to the ego than is common at the Common Man level. But this is only a matter of degree, and the upper-middle-class people have a wide range of personality, wider perhaps than any other social class.

Evidence on basic personality of upper-class people is almost totally lacking, unless we can accept biographies and novels as useful evidence. Warner's reports on a small number of upper-class people indicate a probable personality difference between upper-upper or "old family" and lower-upper or "nouveaux riches."

Finally, if values prove to be more closely class linked than basic personality, it appears that a given personality structure may share the same values with another and different personality structure. If this is the case, it may be useful to think of social class behavior norms as consisting largely of social or behavioral roles that are learned by people of various basic personalities.

MARITAL ROLES AND MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENT*

YI-CHUANG LU
University of Chicago

This paper reports an investigation of the relation between the dominant-equalitarian-submissive role in marriage and marital adjustment of young couples. The data used for this study were part of the materials obtained by Burgess and Wallin in their investigation of 1,000 engaged couples and of over 600 of these couples after marriage. The subjects of the present research are 603 married couples who were living in the Chicago metropolitan area during their engagement. Most of them were of the college level of education and the remainder were nearly all high school graduates. The ages of these married persons ranged from twenty to thirty years. The majority were from upper-middle-class and lower-middle-class families, and the fathers of most of them were either in professions or in business. Of these couples, all were of the white race and about half were Protestants.¹

Dominant-equalitarian-submissive scores. In order to study roles of husband and wife in marriage in relation to marital adjustment, measurements of both adjustment and roles were necessary. Since the marital adjustment of these couples had already been measured by Burgess and Wallin, the marital adjustment scores obtained by them² were used in the present study. A scale to measure the dominant-equalitarian-submissive role in marriage, however, was needed. The chief instrument devised by the writer to measure different roles in marriage is an index consisting of sixteen items—eight personality and eight relationship items—drawn from the engagement and marriage schedules used in the study. These items were found to be the most discriminating of fifty-one items tentatively selected. These sixteen items of dominance-submission are

*The writer is indebted to Professors Ernest W. Burgess of the University of Chicago and Paul Wallin of Stanford University for permission to use their data.

¹ For a detailed account of the ways the data were collected and of the social characteristics of the subjects, see E. W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, "Predicting Adjustment in Marriage from Adjustment in Engagement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49:324-50, 1944; also Paul Wallin, "Volunteer Subjects as a Source of Sampling Bias," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:539-44, 1949, and also E. W. Burgess and P. Wallin's forthcoming book, *A Study of Adjustment in Engagement and Marriage*.

² The marriage adjustment of these couples was measured by the questions comprising the Burgess-Cottrell scale. For the questions and weights of the Burgess-Cottrell scale, see E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), pp. 64-65.

as follows:³ (1) needs to have own way, (2) does not avoid argument, (3) loses temper easily, (4) tries to get own way even if has to fight for it, (5) tends to be dominant in relations with the opposite sex, (6) angers easily, (7) stubborn, (8) dominating, (9) wishes to change fiancée's (or fiancé's) temperamental characteristics, such as tendency to take the lead, insisting on own way, stubbornness, etc., (10) thinks spouse is argumentative, (11) thinks spouse is quick-tempered, (12) thinks spouse criticizes him (or her), (13) wishes to change spouse's or own temper, stubbornness, etc., (14) dislikes spouse's dominance, temper, stubbornness, and trying to take the lead, (15) things he (or she) does, such as insisting on own way and taking the lead, disliked by spouse, and (16) spouse gives in when disagreements arise between them.

The replies on the schedules of the 603 couples were then scored according to this index. Adding up the weights of all items of each person and comparing those of the husband with those of the wife would give a dominant-equalitarian-submissive score for each couple. The dominant-equalitarian-submissive scores of the 603 couples were then grouped into three divisions: (1) equalitarian role—couples with a difference of only 0 to 4 points between husband and wife; (2) husband-more-dominant role—couples with husbands receiving from 5 to 33+ points more than their respective wives; (3) wife-more-dominant role—those marriages with wives receiving from 5 to 33+ points more than their respective husbands.

Of the 603 couples, 34.66 per cent were in the husband-more-dominant group, 34 per cent in the equalitarian, and 31.34 per cent in the wife-more-dominant group.

Marital roles and the husband's marriage adjustment. The scores of the marital adjustment of the 603 husbands range from -87 to +92 points. These marital adjustment scores were then arbitrarily divided by the writer into three groups. Those husbands whose scores range from -87 to +20 points were designated as making "poor" adjustment, those with scores ranging from +21 to +56 points as making "fair" adjustment, and those with scores from +57 to +92 points as making "good" marital adjustment.

After the marriage adjustment scores and the dominant-equalitarian-submissive scores of the 603 couples were calculated, the next step was

³ The methods of finding the most discriminating items and of devising the scoring system and also the tests of validity of the dominant-equalitarian-submissive scores are presented in detail in the writer's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "A Study of the Dominant, Equalitarian and Submissive Roles in Marriage" (University of Chicago, 1950), Chap. II.

to determine the relations between marital roles and marriage adjustment which are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1
MARITAL ROLES AND HUSBAND'S MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENT⁴

Marriage Adjustment	MARITAL ROLE						No. of Cases
	Husband More Dominant		Equalitarian		Wife More Dominant		
	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	
Poor.....	41.5	+2.2	30.4*	---	28.1	---	135
Fair.....	34.5	---	32.1	---	33.4	---	290
Good.....	29.8*	---	39.9	+1.8	30.3	---	178
Total....							603

An examination of Table 1 reveals that a negative relation exists between the husband's dominant role and his marriage adjustment. A larger proportion of those with "poor" adjustment fall in the husband-more-dominant group and a smaller proportion are found in the "equalitarian" and wife-more-dominant groups. In the husband-more-dominant group, only 29.8 per cent of husbands have made a "good" adjustment and 41.5 per cent a poor adjustment in marriage (CR 2.2). The better the husband's adjustment with his wife, the higher the percentage of such cases falling into the "equalitarian" group. In the "equalitarian" group, 39.9 per cent of husbands make "good" adjustment with their wives and only 30.4 per cent are poorly adjusted. The critical ratio of the difference between 39.9 per cent and 30.4 per cent is 1.8, which approaches significance. In the wife-more-dominant group, however, practically no difference is found in the husbands of the three degrees of marital adjustment.

Marital roles and the wife's marriage adjustment. The scores of the marital adjustment of the 603 wives range from -70 to +89 points. These marital adjustment scores were also arbitrarily divided by the writer into three groups. Those wives with scores ranging from -70 to +25 points were designated as "poorly" adjusted in marriage, those with scores from +26 to +57 points as "fairly" adjusted, and those with scores from +58 to +89 points as making "good" adjustment in marriage.

⁴ The starred figures in this and the following table are taken as the points of origin for determining the critical ratio (CR) of the difference between the percentages. A CR of 2.0 will be taken as statistically significant in this study.

Table 2 presents the relation between roles in marriage and the wife's marital adjustment. As in the case of the husband, a relation also exists between the wife's dominance in marriage and her poor marital adjustment and between equalitarian role in marriage and her good adjustment. However, unlike the case of the husband, the husband-more-dominant role in marriage is also related to the wife's poor marital adjustment.

TABLE 2

MARITAL ROLES AND WIFE'S MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENT

MARITAL ROLE							
Marriage Adjustment	Husband More Dominant		Equalitarian		Wife More Dominant		No. of Cases
	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	
Poor.....	43.0*	---	22.2*	---	34.8	+2.2	135
Fair.....	31.0	-2.4	33.3	+2.5	35.7	+2.9	255
Good.....	33.8	-1.7	42.3	+4.2	23.9*	---	213
Total....							603

The figures in Table 2 indicate a definite relation between the husband's dominance in the marriage and the wife's poor marital adjustment. Of those wives who make "poor" adjustment in marriage, 43 per cent of their husbands are more dominant. But of those wives who make "fair" marital adjustment, only 31 per cent have more dominant husbands (CR 2.4). Of those wives who make "good" adjustment in marriage, there are also only 33.8 per cent whose husbands are more dominant. The critical ratio of the difference between 43.0 per cent and 33.8 per cent is 1.7, which is in the direction of being statistically significant.

In the "equalitarian" group, there is an even more significant relation between equalitarian role and the wife's good adjustment in marriage. Of those wives who make "poor" adjustment in marriage, there are only 22.2 per cent playing equalitarian roles. But of those wives who make "fair" adjustment, a higher proportion, 33.3 per cent, play equalitarian roles in marriage (CR 2.5). And of those wives who make "good" adjustment in marriage, an even higher proportion, 42.3 per cent, play the equalitarian roles. The critical ratio of the difference between 22.2 per cent and 42.3 per cent is 4.2.

If we turn to the "wife-more-dominant" group, we find that a positive relation exists between the wife's dominance and her "poor" or "fair" adjustment in marriage. The data at least indicate a negative

relation between the wife's more dominant role and her good adjustment in marriage. Of those wives who make "good" adjustment in marriage, only 23.9 per cent play more dominant roles in their relationship with their husbands. But of those wives who make "fair" marital adjustment, there are a higher proportion, 35.7 per cent, playing more dominant roles in marriage relationship (CR 2.9). And of those wives who make "poor" marital adjustment, there are also a higher proportion, 34.8 per cent, playing more dominant roles in marriage. The critical ratio of the difference between 23.9 per cent and 34.8 per cent is 2.2, which indicates that the observed difference is statistically significant.

In closing this paper, it can be said that by measuring marital roles and adjustment, it was possible to investigate the relation between marital roles and marriage adjustment of the 603 couples. The general conclusion is that the equalitarian relationship or democratic partnership is correlated with good marital adjustment, and the dominance of either the husband or the wife is associated with poor adjustment in marriage.

SOCIAL MYTHS IN SOVIET COMMUNISM

EDWARD C. McDONAGH
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In essence a social myth may be considered a nonlogical idea which draws its motivating force from the emotions of a people more largely than from reason.¹ In most discussions of myths as social control mechanisms it is customary to think of them as largely of the past and not as a vital part of the modern political state, especially a modern state that takes much pride in its materialism and claims that "religion is the opium of the people." It is the contention of this writer, however, that the Soviet Union has made its crass materialism palatable by integrating a number of major social myths that rationalize myriad shortcomings and weaknesses in the Russian system. Perhaps these social myths in the USSR offer the best illustration in modern times of a social narcosis administered on a national, and threatening to be international, scale. Although the Soviet Communists ridicule religion which stresses individual dignity and worth, they have utilized to the full the "opium value" of their own particular social myths.² The following pages examine six of these social myths in the USSR.

1. *The state will wither away.* Perhaps the most interesting myth in the Soviet Union concerns itself with the promise that the state will gradually disappear. Obviously, during the last thirty years in the USSR there has been no evidence of the state's withering away, except for enforced "withering" of Stalin's critics. Of the five men of the original Politburo who administered the government during the civil war—Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Kamenev, and Bukharin—only Stalin remains. Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico City in 1940. Kamenev and Bukharin were executed in 1937 as a result of the treason trials in which Andrei Vishinsky was the chief prosecutor and made the challenge "Shoot the mad dog."³

Instead of withering away, the state has become more powerful and inclusive; yet this manifest trend is explained by Stalin in the following manner, which represents one of the best examples in print of Soviet reasoning:

¹ Note the way this term is examined by B. Ogle, *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1950), pp. 88-89.

² One of the underlying factors that have made possible the easy acceptance of these myths has been the fundamental ambiguity in the writings of Marx and Engels. See the book by Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928), pp. 527-29.

³ Paul Blanshard, *Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951), p. 170.

We are for the withering away of the state. And yet we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship which represents the strongest and mightiest form of state power that has existed up to now. To keep on developing state power in order to prepare the conditions for the withering away of the state power—that is the Marxist formula.⁴

After a lapse of about ten years Stalin, in speaking to the 18th Party Congress in 1939, modified his stand on the “withering” characteristics of the Communist state by indicating that socialism would have to be victorious in all countries or at least in the majority of the countries before Engel’s observation might be materialized.⁵ At the present time the Communists have been reporting that the state cannot “wither away” before the possibility of a third major world war. At any rate, the claim that the state will wither away must be defined as a myth, a promise of a future change to mitigate the present oppression of the people. It is of more than passing interest to observe that Communists have denied their people the inspiration and hope offered by Christianity and have substituted Communist myths, capitalizing to the limit on man’s basic desire or wish to believe in a better future. This may be thought of as an *ersatz* religion, or a secular religion.

2. *A people’s democracy.* Membership in the Communist party in the Soviet Union is restricted to about 6 per cent of the adult population, or about 7,000,000 members. These members are distributed throughout the nation and have been described as a “fanatical fraternity.”⁶ Since almost all decisions come from the top downward, the recruitment of new members does not guarantee a more democratic basis of action. The new member must be “loyal,” and that is interpreted to mean conformity with the latest change in party thinking. To the Russian Communist this type of “closed thinking” is perfectly understandable and in his mind perhaps an example of “democracy.” Note the attitude of Andrei Y. Vishinsky:

In our state, naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press, and so on for the foes of Socialism. Every sort of attempt on their part to utilize to the detriment of the State—that is to say, to the toilers must be classified as a counter-revolutionary crime to which Article 58, Paragraph 10, or one of the corresponding articles of the Criminal Code is applicable.⁷

Thus in the Soviet Union, by rigid definition and interpretation, freedom means to approve all things communistic and to disapprove all

⁴ Quoted in the work by R. N. Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 182.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁶ Blanshard, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁷ Andrei Y. Vishinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), p. 617.

things not communistic. Their concept of democracy does not anticipate that the individual has a right to criticize the party line, general policy, or social objectives. If public opinion is an expression on a controversial issue, it is difficult to imagine the existence of a public opinion toward selected issues.⁸ In our Western sense of the term it is doubtful if there exists any real public opinion concerning important political issues. As for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" it is not *for* the "people." In reality, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not *of* nor *for* but *over* the people in Russia.

3. *The classless society.* Another intriguing Communist myth is that eventually the social structure will be unmarked by social strata or social classes. During the early years of the Communist regime attention was directed with great interest to the liquidation of the middle class, or, in more definitely Communist language, to the exploiters. Instead of moving in the direction of fewer classes, almost every American observer finds the trend in the Soviet to be in the opposite direction. Not only are there more classes appearing in the Soviet society, but the state has taken class membership as a badge of status. Uniforms, medals, and privileges have been differentially awarded to members of various classes to increase productivity and morale. As early as 1936 Stalin, in introducing the new Soviet Constitution, admitted that there were at least three classes: the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia.⁹

It is possible to analyze the class structure in the Soviet Union as being made up of almost as many general categories as W. L. Warner has found in the United States. Inkeles¹⁰ develops the following class groups for the intelligentsia, based on an intensive examination of the existing literature: (1) the ruling elite (high party members and a few scientists and artists), (2) the superior intelligentsia (intermediary ranks of the former group plus a few important technical specialists), (3) the general intelligentsia (the middle ranks of the bureaucracy), (4) the white-collar group (petty bureaucrats, accountants, and clerks). Somewhat similar categories can be constructed for the workers and peasants to indicate the reality of gradations of classes in the Soviet Union, thus discrediting the myth of a classless society. A Communist must be willing to accept an illogical thesis to believe that the road to a

⁸ See the book by William Albigh, *Public Opinion* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), Chap. I. Also see the several definitions in the work by Emory S. Bogardus, *The Making of Public Opinion* (New York: Association Press, 1951), Chap. I.

⁹ Alex Inkeles, "Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union: 1940-50," *American Sociological Review*, 15:465, August 1950.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 466. See also the book by David Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 108-12.

classless society is through the development of an elaborate class structure. The complete class structure in Soviet Russia is depicted by Inkeles and others in the following rank order: ruling elite (Stalin and associates), superior intelligentsia, general intelligentsia, working-class aristocracy, white-collar workers and well-to-do peasants, average workers, average peasants and disadvantaged workers, and, finally, forced labor.

The most interesting aspect of the class structure in the Soviet Union of recent time centers on the crystallization of the entire structure. A growing body of evidence indicates that social mobility from class to class is being reduced. Several reasons may be advanced that help explain the slowing down of mobility: (1) Restrictions have been placed upon attendance in institutions of the secondary and college type with the introduction of tuition and fees by a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of October 2, 1940.¹¹ This decree runs counter to the Soviet Constitution (article 121), which assures all the levels of education without fees or tuition. Again, this abrupt change offers more evidence of the myth of a classless society. (2) Inheritance and income tax laws have been relaxed to favor the gradual acquisition of wealth in terms of savings and personal property. (3) Children of high officers are reported to have better chances of being admitted to military schools, where they receive training that develops the Soviet equivalent of "an officer and a gentlemen." And, finally, (4) the Soviet Union has not been recruiting top managerial persons from the rank and file of bright workers, but rather from the technical schools.¹² If this trend toward a society marked by numerous classes continues in the Soviet Union, the claim to a classless society becomes an empty myth. Moreover, if the trend toward a reduction in mobility between the classes is hastened, then there is the very real possibility that the top class may become a separate caste.

4. *Ethnic equality.* The Soviet Union has enjoyed a reputation for ethnic and racial equality that has been quoted frequently, since there is

¹¹ Max M. Laserson, *Russia and the Western World* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945), pp. 71-72. The impossibility of rescinding certain elements in the class structure is indicated in the following observation: "For the ruling political elite at the head of the Party recognizes the ever present possibility that group-consciousness might develop in these favored strata with the implied threat of a challenge to the authority of the present leaders. This possibility is met in part by the incorporation and absorption of groups like the intelligentsia, foremen, and Stakhanovites into the Party, where their members can be indoctrinated, subordinated to the Party's discipline and purposes, and carefully watched. It is also met by maintaining what appears to be an almost calculated degree of relatively constant instability—by means of rapid and sudden turnover in personnel, by intensive criticism, purging, and at times police action, and by consistent building up of the lower strata." Inkeles, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

¹² Inkeles, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

a constitutional provision for such equality. However, as with all the myths discussed in this paper, the facts speak against the alleged condition. The Jews have come in for severe criticism largely because of their religious convictions. On this interesting point it is Paul Blanshard's opinion that

Any sign of loyalty to any non-Russian culture is suspect. . . . Some observers believe that this anti-Zionism has already become a new type of anti-Semitism—not basically, religious anti-Semitism, but a distrust of Jews as persons who have broad outlook upon international affairs and who, therefore, constitute a threat to the narrow outlook of communist opinion.¹³

Attempts have been made to present the case against the Soviet's new anti-Semitism to the United Nations as a denial of human rights under its charter. One of the best analyses into the core of Soviet anti-Semitism has been written by General Walter Bedell Smith in the following manner:

Soviet law specifically prohibits any racial discrimination or anti-Semitism. A few Jews, such as Kagonovitch and Ehrenburg, hold high positions in the Soviet Union, and are always pointed to by the Kremlin to refute any implication of anti-Semitism. But during the past decade, it seems Jews have systematically been removed from influential positions in the Soviet Government and the diplomatic and armed services. Reliable reports attribute these removals to Soviet suspicion of Jews as persons who have a tradition of international culture and ties abroad, and who cannot be relied upon to conform to the increasingly tight ideological strait jacket demanded by the party under postwar conditions. From the Foreign Office alone, while I was in Moscow, Litvinov, Lozovsky, Maisky, and less important but almost equally able Jewish officials were relieved or relegated to retirement or to positions of less importance.¹⁴

Probably the myth of ethnic equality has been a big factor in the recruitment of Communist support in the backward areas of the world and in some of the regions where ethnic relations have been most tense. However, the present anti-Semitism of the Soviet Union has a most important implication for eastern Germany, where the Russians have been able to fan the fires of latent Nazi animosity toward the symbols of Jewish religion and culture. If the Russian Communists can combine with neo-Nazis, using the Jews as a common scapegoat, there is a real possibility of creating common hate. The myth of ethnic equality falls apart when one realizes the extraordinary degree of ethnocentrism the Russians manifest toward almost everything from inventions to music.

¹³ Blanshard, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹⁴ Walter Bedell Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1950), pp. 275-76.

5. *A consistent party line.* Another myth of the Soviet ideology concerns itself with the consistent party line. In reality, the Communist line is a policy of expedience, a line of least effort to secure a selected goal, a line not hampered by Western ethics. The Russian Communists have developed a dualistic interpretation of each situation; hence, by definition the party leaders are able to be "right" in almost every instance. Kintner indicates how the Communists have developed this technique of a shifting policy by a rather typical example:

A "left" leader and a "right" leader are kept on ice at each level of the communist command. When it is necessary to change a policy, the man associated with the old policy is removed and a spokesman for the new is substituted. Perhaps the most famous exchange of personalities which took place in order to emphasize a new line was the substitution of Molotov for Litvinov in 1939 as a prelude to the Nazi-Soviet Pact.¹⁵

The application of the party line must be a most difficult task for administrative men in the Soviet Union. Margaret Mead states that the appropriate behavior of party members is to know the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to apply them as directed by the line, not to think about them.¹⁶ With so many interpretations of the writings of the pontiffs of communism, it must tax the ingenuity of the average executive to anticipate a new change in the line. In attempting to "predict" a new course there may be considerable tension and worry. If accurate health records were available, it would be an interesting project to chart the course of psychosomatic illnesses among the executives and responsible administrative men in the USSR. No doubt by the time the party line has descended to the lowest foreman in a tractor plant, there may have been several "modifications" in the line. Close conformity to the party line does not necessarily mean that the person is "playing the game" within permissive limits. The only security is in the anticipation of a change and guessing correctly. The party line is not a consistent policy, but always the *new* directive. Note Stalin's remarks:

The unexampled unity and compactness of our Party. . .made it possible to avoid a split on the occasion of a turn as sharp as that of the NEP (New Economic Policy). Not a single party in the world. . .would have withstood such a sharp turn without confusion, without a split. . .As is well known, such turns are apt to lead to the falling by the wayside of a certain group. . .We have had such a turn in the history of our Party in 1907 and 1908. . .two whole groups then fell from our cart.¹⁷

¹⁵ William R. Kintner, *The Front Is Everywhere* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), p. 159.

¹⁶ Margaret Mead, *Soviet Attitudes toward Authority* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), p. 21.

¹⁷ Quoted from the book by Nathan Leites, *The Operational Code of the Politburo* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), p. 35.

The logic of the line leaves no room for middle ground or for an interpretation often made by Western scholars such as "things, policies, and methods are relative." The Communists are believers in absolutes and in exact predictions. One of the best comparisons between an open society and a closed society has been developed by Bertrand Russell:

There is another important difference, and that is that Moscow orthodoxy is much more all-pervasive than that of Washington. In America, if you are a geneticist, you may hold whatever view of Mendelism the evidence makes you regard as the most probable; in Russia, if you are a geneticist who disagrees with Lysenko, you are liable to disappear mysteriously. In America, you may write a book debunking Lincoln if you feel so disposed; in Russia, if you write a book debunking Lenin, it would not be published and you would be liquidated. If you are an American economist, you may hold, or not hold, that America is heading for a slump; in Russia, no economist dare question that an American slump is imminent. In America, if you are a professor of philosophy, you may be an idealist, a materialist, a pragmatist, a logical positivist, or whatever else may take your fancy; at congresses you can argue with men whose opinions differ from yours, and listeners can form a judgment as to who has the best of it. In Russia, you must be a dialectical materialist, but at one time the element of materialism outweighs the element of dialectic, and at other times it is the other way round. If you fail to follow the developments of official metaphysics with sufficient nimbleness, it will be the worse for you. Stalin at all times knows the truth about metaphysics, but you must not suppose that the truth this year is the same as it was last year.¹⁸

6. *World peace.* Of recent time Soviet leaders have attempted to become the spokesmen for various world peace drives, and as a result the so-called "Stockholm Peace Petition" is a case in point. In the United Nations Soviet leaders have been conspicuous spokesmen for various proposals for world peace, but upon examination by the West there were often strings attached that made sincere agreement impossible. However, the Soviet strategy has been to get credit for peace and make it appear that the Western powers have been warmongers and noncooperative with measures that might bring about "peace." Upon examination most of the Soviet proposals for peace run counter to basic Communist "reasoning," inasmuch as this ideology accepts the necessity of a world revolutionary war. Kintner's observations are worth serious attention at this point:

The first prerequisite in world revolutionary strategy is the development of the military strength of the USSR. Next is the maintenance of a loyal and obedient Communist party. Then the consolidation of the Communist position on

¹⁸ Bertrand Russell, *Unpopular Essays* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), pp. 40-41.

the great land mass of Eurasia. Finally, the development of a revolutionary crisis in America—which, Stalin assures his legions, will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism.¹⁹

The penetration of the Soviet Communists into the satellite countries of Europe and Asia, the various deals they have made to take over these countries, the success in securing practically the whole of Asia—all speak for an effective form of power politics. The Soviet Communists have utilized what might be called "contiguous imperialism," and they thus have something in common with the American farmer who was reported to have said that all he wanted was the land that joined his farm! The Soviet Communists have gotten much of the land areas and political control of designated countries because the West preferred peace to war. The situation in Korea is the first real test by the West of an attempt to stop the contiguous imperialism of the communist-minded countries.

It is persistently reported that Stalin has a most active interest in Machiavelli's great handbook, *The Prince*.²⁰ One may speculate as to how much of an impression the following lines from *The Prince* may have made:

One prince, of the present time, whom it is not well to name, never preaches anything else but peace and good faith, and to both he is most hostile, and either, if he had kept it, would have deprived him of reputation and kingdom many a time.²¹

Hence, it has been suggested that the most kindly view one could take of the basic aims of Communist strategy is that the Communists believe they must conquer the world to bring it peace.²²

To those dedicated to the principles and values of a democratic culture it is incredible that political mythology could be so easily pressed upon such a multitude of people as comprise the USSR. However, the Russian people have no democratic traditions to contrast with present-day conditions. They have gone from Czarist authoritarianism to communist authoritarianism. The mythical quality of Communist claims is not so apparent in their society, since their own walls—the "iron curtain" and extreme ethnocentrism—cut them off from self-examination through comparison with the free countries. The Soviet propaganda machine consistently projects a rainbow of myths upon the Russian people to direct their gaze away from the stormy inconsistencies and realities of a totalitarian state.

¹⁹ Kintner, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²¹ Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, quoted from the selection appearing in the work by V. F. Calverton, *The Making of Society* (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), p. 99.

²² Kintner, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

CHILDREN AND WOMEN'S WORK*

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It is a well-established generalization that in American society there is an inverse relation between the number of minor children in a family and the probability of the mother's membership in the labor force. The labor force is understood to consist of persons, "...at work, with a job, seeking work, or on public emergency work. . ."¹ However, the generalization is not without qualification. Durand, for example, has noted that the relationship is not so marked when the children are 10 years of age and over as it is when they are younger.²

When this relationship is viewed as cause and effect, with size of family being a causal factor affecting woman's seeking employment, common observation suggests some further qualification. While it is reasonable to regard the presence of minor children as imposing responsibilities on the mother which make it difficult for her to devote the time and energy required for gainful employment, it is also reasonable to assume some opposite effects. The presence of minor children imposes an additional economic burden on the family, which cannot be compensated for by economic contributions from the children in an urban, industrial civilization. From this standpoint, an increase in number of children might afford added incentive to the mother to seek employment.

It is proposed here that the factor, number of children in the family, actually operates to create not one opposing tendency, but two. An attempt will be made to treat relevant data statistically in a manner which makes allowance for the possibility that a single causal factor may create simultaneous effects in two opposing directions. The simple technique of cross-tabulating labor force membership with number of minor children precludes the observation of such contradictory tendencies. By making use of variations in those conditions which may be supposed to strengthen one of the tendencies at the expense of the other, however, it should be possible to give evidence of the type of causation being suggested here.

*The manuscript has benefited from a careful critical reading by my colleague, Ruth Riemer.

¹ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: Population. Vol. III, The Labor Force, Part I*, p. 5.

² John D. Durand, *The Labor Force in the United States: 1890-1960* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948), pp. 76-78.

The act of entering the labor force may be viewed as the resolution of the conflict between opposing incentives in the direction indicated by the stronger of the two. It may be hypothesized that the presence of children acts as a stronger deterrent to labor force participation when the children are young, before they enter school, at the time when the indispensable services of a mother are greatest. In contrast, it may be proposed that the economic burden of children increases with age, so that the incentive to women's working on this account increases with age. If these assumptions are valid, it should be possible to frame an examination of labor force membership in relation to number of children so as to take account of age of children and reveal the conflicting tendencies.

Assuming that the tendency for increases in number of children to reduce the likelihood of their mother's labor force participation has been adequately demonstrated in existing literature, we shall focus attention on demonstrating that an opposite tendency may be observed. Consequently, we shall examine variations in labor force rate by number of children under 18, while holding constant the number of children under

TABLE 1

PER CENT OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER EIGHTEEN AND UNDER TEN, BY AGE OF FAMILY HEAD, FOR URBAN AND RURAL FARM COMMUNITY, UNITED STATES, 1940*

Number of Children under 10	Number of Children under 18			
	None	1	2	3 or more
Urban: Head under 25				
Total.....	33.3	8.9	6.7	7.2
None.....	33.3	32.0	(38.0)	(12.5)
1.....		8.1	15.5	(11.1)
2.....			5.5	10.5
Urban: Head 25-29				
Total.....	39.5	11.4	8.4	7.8
None.....	39.5	37.2	42.2	(48.5)
1.....		10.3	19.3	19.5
2.....			7.3	13.0

(Table continued next page)

Number of Children under 10	Number of Children under 18			
	None	1	2	3 or more
Urban: Head 30-34				
Total.....	38.6	13.7	9.8	8.3
None.....	38.6	28.0	25.5	27.5
1.....		11.4	14.8	16.5
2.....			7.5	12.1
Urban: Head 35-44				
Total.....	30.7	15.5	10.9	8.7
None.....	30.7	18.6	15.4	15.9
1.....		12.2	10.1	11.0
2.....			7.1	8.0
Rural Farm: Head under 25				
Total.....	7.7	4.2	4.3	4.9
None.....	7.7	10.9	(15.2)	--
1.....		4.0	8.2	(8.6)
2.....			3.9	2.7
Rural Farm: Head 25-29				
Total.....	11.5	4.4	4.2	5.3
None.....	11.5	13.1	(15.2)	(31.6)
1.....		4.0	8.8	(8.7)
2.....			3.8	8.6
Rural Farm: Head 30-34				
Total.....	13.4	6.3	4.3	3.7
None.....	13.4	10.1	7.4	10.3
1.....		5.7	6.9	6.4
2.....			3.5	3.8
Rural Farm: Head 35-44				
Total.....	11.0	6.0	4.4	4.0
None.....	11.0	6.5	6.0	5.5
1.....		5.3	4.3	4.4
2.....			3.0	3.6

*The data are drawn from *Sixteenth Census: Population, Families; Employment Status*, pp. 57-60. Parantheses indicate percentages computed on a base of less than 100 in the 5 per cent sample used in the above report.

the age of 10.³ We shall thereby eliminate a considerable proportion of the restricting effect of children and may reveal an effect in the opposite direction, which would otherwise be canceled out.

In Table 1 the labor force rates for women are reported by number of minor children within categories homogeneous with respect to number of children under 10. By reading the rates in any given row from left to right, it is possible to observe the effect of increasing number of children on labor force membership within those families having only a specified number of children under 10. The data have been tabulated separately for urban and rural-farm location and for several categories of age of family head.

In families in which the head is under 45 years of age,⁴ the effect of eliminating variations in number of *young* children is in all cases to make the negative correlation between number of *minor* children and labor force membership less pronounced. And in all categories with the family head under 35 years of age, there are some evidences of positive associations between the factors. This is clearest for both urban and rural-farm communities when the head is from 25 to 29 years of age, and in the rural-farm communities when the head is under 25.

The hypothesis of this paper is most fully exemplified in the one category of urban families with head from 25 to 29 years of age. In the top row, which takes no account of variations in number of young children, labor force rates *decline* with each increase in number of minor children. In the remaining three rows, each of which is homogeneous with respect to number of children under 10, labor force rates *increase* in every instance of increase in number of minor children after the first child.

The data, as summarized, appear then to support the view that increases in size of family, except for the arrival of first child, do create incentives both to enter and to withdraw from labor force participation. The absence of positive findings at the higher age levels need not weaken the conclusion, since the presence of young children in families of these ages is generally atypical, and these families might not be expected to exhibit the same characteristics as those at the more typical age levels. It is further possible that the results might be more striking if a more

³ Age 10 is the dividing point used in Census tabulations. Other, and perhaps more appropriate, age breakdowns are not available in cross-tabulations suitable to the problem posed in this paper. In this paper children under 18 will sometimes be designated "minor children" and those under 10 will be referred to as "young children."

⁴ In families with the head 45 years of age and over the relation between number of children and labor force membership is slight.

adequate age breakdown had been available. A dividing point corresponding to the age when children commence full-time school attendance might be more appropriate.

A similar tabulation for nonwhites may be incidentally noted.⁵ The results are not so clear and consistent as for the whites, partly because of inadequate numbers of cases in several cells. However, there are some increases in labor force rate with increasing number of children in all the "age of head"- "community type" categories in which they were found for whites. Furthermore, instances of this association are also found in the 45-54-year and the 55-64-year categories in both urban and rural-farm communities.

In interpreting the findings it should be noted that the procedure of holding constant number of children under 10 while treating total number of minor children as the independent variable might have been reversed, except for the assumptions regarding causality made initially. If this reversal is made and variations in labor force rates are examined within columns, rather than rows, the general thesis of the paper is further substantiated. In all categories in which the family head is under 55 years of age, labor force rates decline consistently with increases in number of children under 10, while total number of minor children is held constant. Again, among the nonwhites the results are less consistent, but there is a preponderance of agreement with the findings for all married women. Thus, the depressing effect of increases in number of young children is highlighted by eliminating variations in number of minor children in the family.

In the interpretation of results we must not overlook alternative explanations. The association revealed may be causally indirect, reflecting the interference of correlated factors not taken into account in the analysis. In particular, it is well established that women's labor force membership is inversely related to socioeconomic status of the husband. It is also known that number of children is inversely related to socioeconomic status of the principal breadwinner. It may be that the positive relationship revealed between number of children and labor force rate is wholly or in part an artifact of these two associations. The data are not available to assess such a possible interpretation.

⁵ The tabulation is not reproduced in this paper. The data are from *Sixteenth Census: Population, Families; Employment Status*, pp. 58, 61.

THREE-DIMENSIONAL MODELS ILLUSTRATING SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

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I. QUANTITATIVE ABSTRACTION

Students in the social sciences are leaning more and more toward the quantitative approach for the treatment of qualitative data. This approach is mandatory if the scientific method is to be utilized for social phenomena. It is argued that since the physical sciences have been so fruitful and have reached unexpected developmental heights as a result of employing quantification of data and the scientific method, this same method can and should be applied to the social sciences.¹

There is no mystery or great difficulty in the use of the quantitative method. Actually, we use this method in a more or less exact form in much of our behavior—social or otherwise. The very words used in the preceding sentence, i.e., the words *more or less*, indicate a form of quantification of human behavior. In fact, it is very difficult to express a quality without expressing some degree of quantity. Thus, quantification appears to be a comparatively effortless form of expression. Actually, science takes for granted some forms of quantification; the real task is to accomplish the greatest degree of quantification possible.

At present, certain aspects of social behavior and phenomena seem to be more readily adaptable, at least on the surface, to mathematical expression and quantification. Thus, demographic analysis, sociometric studies, and certain ecological concepts lend themselves to quantitative expression. Expression of degrees of quantity makes measurement possible. Measurement leads to collective agreement concerning the validity of measuring instruments, and this in turn leads to greater exactness. When phenomena can be measured exactly, prediction and control become possible.²

¹ See George A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947), Chap. I, and *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), Chap. II; Stuart C. Dodd, *Systematic Social Science*, offset edition (Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1946), Chaps. I, II, III.

² Exactness is not an absolute but rather is measured by the degree of prediction obtained. That is, if phenomena are measured exactly enough to give a 95 per cent probability of correct prediction, then that particular degree of exactness is sufficient for the purpose intended. In the science of meteorology, even a 60 per cent to 75 per cent probability of correct prediction is considered to be exact enough to justify the expenditure of thousands of dollars for continued research.

Two- and three-dimensional forms are but two examples of many types of quantitative abstraction. Two-dimensional forms (i.e., length and width on a flat surface) have long been used in the physical and social sciences for mathematical and illustrative purposes. For example, analytical geometry and the theory of statistical linear regression employ two-dimensional abstraction. Elaborate mathematical equations and other constructs have been developed to describe these two-dimensional forms. Graphs, organization charts which define aspects of the economic and political institution, economic cycle charts, cartographic drawings either in perspective or nonperspective are all two-dimensional techniques used for visual illustrative purposes.

The abstraction of behavior into two- and three-dimensional forms has probably received its greatest impetus from the development of the physical sciences. Even the child in the elementary school is acquainted with and knows how to interpret two-dimensional maps and also three-dimensional relief maps. Most of these abstractions for the elementary pupil are from physical data and not social data. He can understand these abstractions in two or three dimensions because he has been taught how these abstractions of phenomena relate to actual phenomena. But social data can be abstracted in the same manner as physical data and with the same easy understanding if the relationship between the abstract and the actual is taught.³ Relatively few university students, however, understand how to interpret such common social science abstractions as a population pyramid, multiple regression diagrams, or a sociometric configuration. Here, social phenomena have been abstracted for purposes of ascertaining mathematical relationships or for purposes of illustration in the same manner as the abstraction of physical phenomena.

If it can be assumed that social phenomena illustrated in two dimensions can be abstracted with the same "realness" and "objectivity" as physical phenomena, consider three-dimensional forms as an even more effective illustrative construct. Reference has already been made to an example of abstraction of physical data in three dimensions—a relief map of a country or continent. Relief maps are easily understood, since bumps on a relief map resemble the topography of the exhibited physical

³ It should be observed here that maps and diagrams of physical data are still abstractions from physical data and are no more "real" or "tangible" than are abstractions from social data. *Realness and tangibility* are merely words or symbols used to define our knowledge or acquaintance with this type of abstraction. Any of these abstractions are still human constructs, and there is nothing inherently "real" or "objective" about them. In this connection, see G. A. Lundberg, "The Sociography of Some Community Relations," reprinted in Logan Wilson and W. L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), pp. 271-86.

area. These mountains (bumps) are clearly in one's experience and thus comparatively easy to perceive even on an abstracted relief map.

Friendship constellations (sociometric data) can be recognized with equal readiness by an observant student. Often one hears the expressions "community or school cliques," "I have been left out," and "our gang." These forms of social behavior and phenomena are just as "real" as rivers and mountains and can be illustrated by two- and three-dimensional techniques. A two-dimensional chart shows friendship constellations in terms of circles and lines connecting the circles, while a three-dimensional model is indicated by balls supported by sticks in three-dimensional space. The remainder of this paper deals with (1) the types of social data that can be adapted to three-dimensional forms and (2) the types and descriptions of these forms and their purposes as a means of description.

II. TYPES OF THREE-DIMENSIONAL FORMS

1. *Population pyramids in three dimensions.* A two-dimensional population pyramid indicates in graphic form the population composition of an area such as a census tract, city, state, or nation according to age and sex. Essentially, it is a series of bar graphs expressing the numbers in each year of age or age groupings drawn from a center division line which divides males from females. From this graphic form the population composition according to age distribution and sex can quickly be ascertained.⁴

However, this two-dimensional form indicates two variables, age and sex, concerning only *one* demographic area such as a city or state. A three-dimensional model built of wood or some comparable material has a definite advantage for teaching or demonstration purposes, since as many as a dozen or more demographic areas or groupings are shown all in one model. The circumference of the base is divided into various demographic areas such as the age and sex composition of rural areas, the age and sex composition of rural nonfarm areas, or urban areas. On the circumference a certain distance is allocated to, say, racial and nativity composition as well as other demographic factors. Actually, a three-dimensional form allows the exhibition of a great many different two-dimensional pyramids all in one three-dimensional form. In effect, it is a fairly comprehensive visual description of the entire population

⁴ For a discussion of population pyramids of the two-dimensional type, see T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948), Chap. 4, pp. 91-102.

composition of a designated area, and it is obvious that quantitative comparisons of such demographic data as the sex-age distributions of different countries could be made at a glance.

2. *Social status in three dimensions.* An individual's social status is usually thought of as a point on a scale that is "calibrated" from low to high. Actually, however, this definition is an oversimplification of what might be called an operational definition of the term. Most social psychologists agree that an individual's status is determined by the subjective opinions of others. These opinions of others, however, are in turn determined operationally by their subjective judgment of the values they place on certain elements that go to make a person's status. For years, sociologists and others have attempted to discover what objective criteria people value as high or low in determining any given individual's social status. The problem, of course, becomes objectively more difficult when it is realized that there seems to be no universal set of values which can be used to determine one's social status. Thus, the determination of one's status seems to be a local manifestation.⁵

Very general criteria (indices) for the universal determination of social position have been suggested, however. One group of criteria is income or wealth, occupation, education, and family descent. One sociologist suggests six "bases of differential valuations" in analyzing class structure: membership in a kinship unit, personal qualities, achievements, possessions, institutionalized authority, and power "not institutionally sanctioned."⁶

Actually, these two sets of criteria are almost identical. If it is possible to reduce the above criteria to three general indices—income or wealth, occupation, and education—then their graphic representation in three-dimensional form may be accomplished. The scaling of the two indices income and education is in terms of amounts, while occupation is scaled in terms of the values that individuals hold regarding the relative "heights" of various occupations.

Three-dimensional forms have three elements—height, width, and length. In respect to social status, the height is scaled as occupational "height," the length scaled as income or wealth in terms of amount, and the width as the relative amount of education. An individual's relative social status appears, accordingly, as a point in three-dimensional space.

⁵ In this connection, see Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," reprinted in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), pp. 464-73.

⁶ Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45:841-62, 1940.

Once the relative positions are determined for any number of subjects, suspended balls are used to represent each subject's position in three-dimensional space. As an illustrative device for classroom or exhibition purposes, a three-dimensional construct of this type is very effective.

3. *Sociographic and sociometric analysis.* One type of sociometric analysis involves the study of friendship constellations in a given grouping. This analysis is directed toward individuals in a group or toward small groups of individuals within a larger group or community. Sociography represents more objectively the actual pattern of group or community structure in accordance with degrees of acceptance or rejection. Sociographic "maps" or chart constellations have been for the most part represented as two-dimensional constructs. Thus, the more subtle and intangible relationships in community structure are objectified.⁷

In a three-dimensional sociographic analysis, the attraction-repulsion patterns appear in three-dimensional space. The vertical dimension represents the "height of attraction." Each individual is represented by colored balls. Colored sticks, representing one-way attraction or mutual attraction, connect the appropriate individuals or groups. Isolates appear with the least vertical height in space and have the fewest number of colored stick connectors. Popular individuals, i.e., those who are much sought after, have a high vertical position and have many connecting colored sticks, either the one-way or the mutual attraction type.

From a construct of this type it is possible to express group or individual popularity in quantitative terms. Thus, an individual is "popular" according to the number of units of vertical distance he occupies in the three-dimensional construct. The actual vertical distance is dependent on how many individuals have expressed their desire to "know him better," "meet him sometime," or "be invited to his house." Some type of universal standardized scale can be developed which will measure anyone's sociometric status in terms of vertical distance.

4. *Ecological processes.* Ecological processes, for the most part, have been described and illustrated in verbal terms. It is the contention here that a more effective description of ecological processes can be accomplished by means of three-dimensional constructs. Dodd has attempted to define these processes verbally in terms of distances expressed as heights, widths, and distances between heights of an area.⁸ This is the first step in the construction of three-dimensional models for illustrative

⁷ See George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociography of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 2:318-35, 1937.

⁸ Dodd, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.

purposes. Ecological processes described in this manner lead to more exact definitions of "difficult to delimit" concepts.

Such ecological processes, for example, as centralization and segregation may be defined and illustrated by three-dimensional models. Centralization may be defined verbally as "a clustering together of functionally integrated units near a center of dominance."⁹ However, for research purposes, centralization is measurable by the number and average of altitudes of the peaks for a given index on a georelation surface. These peaks are centers and their altitudes represent the values of the particular index of centralization.¹⁰

Segregation refers to the spatial separation of units of contrasting types into different subareas of the whole area. Some types of segregation are measured by distances between altitudes or centers for given indices. Thus, the segregation of a Negro residential area from a Japanese residential area or the segregation of the "banking district" from the "department store area" is measured by the actual distance between the highest altitudes (centers) in these areas.

In the construction of an "ecological centralization model" the georelation surface can be made of plywood or some other suitable material. The areal units for the expression of the index of centralization are determined and marked on the georelation surface. The altitudes of the areal units are determined by the actual observed number of the index per unit. The actual heights of the columns in terms of inches constitute an exact measure of the degree of centralization for a given index on the georelation surface. The various degrees of centralization can be seen at a glance just as one is able to see the relative heights of mountains on a geographical relief map. It is also possible to recognize the degree of centralization for any area in terms of maximum centralization and minimum centralization.

Assuming that segregation is measurable by the distances between altitudes on the georelation surface for given indices, it is possible to construct a three-dimensional model depicting segregation and then to express segregation in terms of actual distances between altitudes or "peaks." For instructional purposes, the model easily illustrates the centers of "natural areas" and the spatial segregation between natural areas in terms of distance between them.

⁹ James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 348.

¹⁰ Dodd, *loc. cit.* The georelation surface is roughly analogous to a base map of an area. The surface is divided into small areas such as blocks or other units, and the relative amount of any index is shown for each block or other chosen unit in terms of column heights.

III. CONCLUSION

Graphic presentation in the form of three-dimensional models has two major purposes. It is extremely effective as a teaching aid in that verbal symbols are supplemented by form symbols, thus increasing the ease and probability of comprehension. Three-dimensional models indicate to the student that sociological concepts can be presented in a measurable, more exact, and quantitative form. They help to show the student that what we know about societies' social relations can be expressed in other forms besides long verbalizations. Three-dimensional models instruct and teach with an economy of effort.

Second, three-dimensional models can serve as instructive devices for publicity purposes. Too many people in the general public know too little about sociology and what sociologists do, not to mention what sociologists have discovered in the field of social relations. Universities and colleges can use three-dimensional models for exhibition purposes, for open houses and general publicity endeavor. Physicists have used three-dimensional nuclear reaction models at expositions and world fairs, and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that sociologists could use their models for the same purpose at similar displays with equally effective results.

A NOTE ON MAX WEBER'S CONCEPT OF UNDERSTANDING*

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Max Weber held that sociology is the science of understanding social actions. Understanding refers to the discovery of the subjective meaning complexes, motivations, and intentions which are attached to social actions. Since physical phenomena are, in the Weberian sense, devoid of meaningful behavior, the methods of the natural sciences are insufficient in the social sciences.¹ Sociological generalizations are reached through the complementary methods of science and understanding. For example, explanations based on understanding must be verified by statistical probability before they become sociological principles.

The requisites for understanding are evidence and accessibility. Rational acts are understandable by way of insight into their means-ends contexts. The understanding of nonrational acts depends upon the accessibility of the act to the investigator through sympathetic introspection and counteridentification. These latter processes, consciously used as methodological techniques, necessitate artistic capacities not generally associated with empirical induction.

Explanation and types of understanding. Two general types of understanding exist. The first concerns itself with the actual understanding of the meaning of a single action as such, i.e., of an "act unit" including verbal utterances: (1) Actual rational understanding of the logical meaning—We understand the proposition $2 \times 2 : 4$ if we hear it while turning the dial of the radio from one station to another. (2) Actual understanding of the nonrational—We understand in this way a fit of anger as manifested by facial expression, exclamations, or irrational gestures. (3) Actual rational understanding of the rational action—We understand the action of a man chopping wood if we see him as we drive along the highway. It is notable that this type of understanding is possible if the observer is unaware of the context in which the act occurs.

The second type of understanding Weber calls "explanatory motivational understanding."

*This analysis is based on a portion of an unpublished translation by Hans H. Gerth of Max Weber's *Concept of Causality, Type, Theory of Understanding, and Social Action*.

¹ In this regard, Weber and C. H. Cooley were in substantial agreement. See Charles H. Cooley, "The Roots of Social Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology*, 32:59-79, July 1926.

We "understand" motivationally what meaning the person who speaks or writes the proposition $2 \times 2 : 4$ attaches to his doing so right now and in this situation, if we see him engaged in a commercial transaction. . . or in any other activity in the context of which according to its understanding meaning this proposition seems to "belong"; that is, in which it acquires for us an understandable meaning in an inclusive meaning complex. . . . Thus, an "explanation," in a science concerned with the meaning of action, signifies a comprehension of the complex of meaning within which an action which is understandable in an actual way belongs through its subjective meaning.

If we know that a person is chopping wood for remuneration, we understand the motivational context of the act unit and consider this understanding an explanation of the real course of action.

Understanding, in the above instances, refers to an interpretative comprehension of the following kinds of meaning or meaning complexes: (1) actually intended meaning of a single case (as in historical approach), (2) average and approximately intended meaning (as in sociological observation of mass data), (3) scientifically constructed (ideal type) meaning of a pure type (ideal type) of a frequently recurring phenomenon.

Weber cautions that the above type of explanation is never more than an especially plausible hypothesis. This is due (1) to repressions which hide actual meaning of the act from the individual himself, (2) to the fact that "similar" actions may have widely divergent meanings, and (3) to the probability that the acting individuals are subject to conflicting impulses in given situations. Such explanations must be verified by the scientific method.

Motive and adequacy of meaning. A motive is defined as "a meaning complex, which appears to the acting individual himself, or to the observer, as a meaningful reason for his conduct." Apparently, a motive embraces more than the subjective or intended meaning of a given act. Likewise, it can be "attached" to the conduct by the observer as well as by the acting individual. A woodchopper who is chopping wood in order to earn money to pay for the hospitalization of his pregnant wife knows the motive of his act. On the other hand, a psychoanalyst discovers a motive for a particular compulsion neurosis of which the acting individual himself is ignorant.

Adequacy of meaning refers to "a coherent course of conduct when and insofar as, according to our habitual modes of thought and feeling, we recognize the relation of its component parts to be a typical (we usually say 'correct') meaning complex. . . . In this sense, for instance, the solution of an arithmetical example which is correct according to our current norms of calculation or thinking is meaningfully adequate."

"Understanding sociology," psychology, and the natural sciences. Weber contends that sociology is not a part of psychology. On this point Abel, stating Weber's point of view, writes

A psychological explanation proceeds by reducing observable processes, fundamental desires, instincts or glandular secretions. A sociological explanation shows how human behavior is determined by the definition or interpretation given to an objective situation by the acting individual or individuals. It arrives at an understanding of social behavior, not by deriving it from or reducing it to elemental psychological facts, but by showing what concrete subjective expectations have been held with regard to the behavior of others, based upon personal experiences or a rational comprehension of the situation.²

Human behavior is uniquely capable of being understood, in the Weber sense of understanding.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT

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The term *international student* is slowly coming into use to replace the somewhat objectionable but commonly used term *foreign student*. In referring to students from other countries as "foreign," one is repeatedly reminding them that they are different. The word *foreign* implies social distance or social farness. The use of the label *foreign student* tends to hold such a person at a distance and to slow up the development of human understanding. After real friendship has been established with "foreign students," "foreign" becomes a contradiction in terms.

The new term *international student* has the merit of a fair degree of accuracy, for it refers to a student from one nation who is studying in another nation, no matter whether it be an English student attending a university in the United States or an American student enrolled at Oxford.¹ Moreover, in either case the individual cannot help experiencing and hence studying intercultural and international relations. Even though his specific field of research be chemistry, he is still brought face to face repeatedly with intercultural problems of language, money, social amenities, new and different ideologies.

The promotion of an exchange of international students is a strategic procedure. These persons, usually in their twenties or thirties, are young enough mentally to learn many new constructive ideas and flexible enough in their thinking to examine critically their own ideas, as well as ideas expressed in the country where they are studying. Most of them cannot help being broadened in their outlook on life and obtaining new light on international problems as such. A student from Germany, after being in a university in the United States for six months, remarked upon leaving for home, "I wonder what I'll think of my own country when I get back and if I'll fit in. Can I adjust myself to my own country again?"² She had recognized that she had undergone some important changes in her outlook on life and the world.

Moreover, the international student, being young, has thirty, forty, or more years of life left to him after he returns to his own country in which to express and exert an influence regarding his new and broadened outlook on world affairs. When he is studying in another country he

¹ By international student is meant not one who has given up his nationalism, but one with national loyalties who is studying in a nation other than his own.

² From interview with N. W.

gets a new perspective of his own nation which he brings back with him. After he returns home he has a definitely changed perspective of the country where he studied. In nearly every way he is likely to become less provincial. These changes he will reflect throughout his mature years in his own country, of course assuming that he goes to another country to study as an open-minded person and not as a propagandist with set ideas and a closed mind.

The international student learns to interpret his experiences from more than one point of view. He discovers new points of view daily; some of these he rejects, while others may serve to modify his own characteristic way of thinking. An international student from China was perplexed when he walked down a San Francisco street the first time. He noticed that everyone was hurrying and he concluded that some catastrophe had happened, for at home people hurried like this only in case of emergencies. When he received his first impression of a speeded-up daily life, he compared it with the lackadaisical ways at home. He did not adopt the speeded-up life, nor did he repudiate lackadaisicalness, but he saw the advantages and disadvantages of both and developed a viewpoint favoring a combination of the two, with the advantages of each being given leeway.

The international student is repeatedly "bumping up" against new and strange types of persons. Some recognize him as "foreign" and embarrass him by staring at him. Some smile at him, which he may mistake for a friendly attitude but which turns out to be a smile of amusement or even of making fun of him. Some crowd him off the sidewalk, which he at first interprets as rudeness or as being done because he is a "foreigner," but which he learns later was unintentional and the act of a person in a tremendous hurry who did not have time to beg his pardon.

While it behooves everyone who recognizes an international student to be at least considerate, it would further better international relations if every international student received help in solving the problems arising for him in a strange land, or, better still, it would prevent at least some of them from arising. Certain of these problems are fairly well known as the result of research that has been made in this field.

In a study made in Southern California colleges and universities, it was found that international students were having difficulty at the following points, with the more serious tapering off to the less serious in the order given.³ (1) getting acquainted with American education

³ James A. Peterson and Martin H. Neumeyer, "Problems of Foreign Students," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:787 ff., March-April 1948.

methods and standards, (2) inadequate counseling service, (3) examination methods, (4) inadequate funds to meet school expenses, (5) writing reports, (6) complicated registration procedure, (7) loss of money through currency exchange, (8) evaluation of credits, (9) understanding lectures, (10) and (11) same rank, competing with Americans for grades and inability to find housing, (12) finding suitable dates, (13) personal friendship with Americans, (14) giving oral reports, (15) health and hospital facilities, (16) finding leisure-time facilities, and (17) being accepted in a social group. Other problems are given, but the foregoing list is long enough to explain why some international students when writing home unintentionally give the impression that life in the United States is uncertain, insecure, and self-centered.

In a recent study of the problems of international students at Purdue University,⁴ the findings regarding the kinds of problems were somewhat similar to those reported from Southern California colleges and universities. The Purdue study attempted to seek out antecedent and explanatory factors and obtained certain conclusions which may be put as follows: (1) The country of origin and the student's academic status affect the number of his adjustment problems.⁵ (2) A program is needed that will integrate these students more fully into the social life of the university and community. (3) They need special help in overcoming language barriers in reading, writing, and understanding English. (4) Many need financial help not only because of increasing costs but because of different rates of exchange and different standards of living. If the international student is to return home with pleasant recollections, there are evidently many ways in which his sojourn in another country could be made more constructive.

In his presidential address at the 46th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society,⁶ Professor Robert Cooley Angell spoke on "The World and the Social Order" and among other things suggested that studies should be made of what changes in attitudes international students undergo while resident in the country where they are studying. Such students in any country might be matched with a similar group of students who remain in their own country for the given period of time in order that changes in attitudes in the two groups might be compared. In this way, it could be discovered what changes in attitudes the inter-

⁴ Reisha Forstat, "Adjustment Problems of International Students," *Sociology and Social Research*, 36:25 ff., September-October 1951.

⁵ For example, students from Turkey need more help in making adjustments than those from Sweden.

⁶ Held in Chicago, September 1951.

national students are undergoing in each of several countries that those who remain at home do not experience. It might also be possible to learn what favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward a democratic world order are being acquired in each country, including the United States, and what kinds of experiences explain both the favorable and unfavorable attitudes. Thus, a scientific basis would be available for developing and expanding the exchange of international students.

Some direction and supervision are needed from an organization like UNESCO. At present, there are a great many hit-and-miss decisions regarding the number and personnel of students who go to another country to study. The need is for a greater spread in the countries to which students from any one country go. The whole movement of international study needs to be speeded up, for at best it represents a slow development in international understanding and good will.

Other suggestions regarding the international student procedure have been made by Lewis Mumford in his latest work, *The Conduct of Life*.⁷ He refers to "the present trickle of students already passing back and forth between certain parts of Europe and America under the Fulbright Act" as being "caught by the routines of conventional education," but thinks that "in time their studies, their civic responsibilities, and their vocational interests" will be united in what will amount to a new kind of education. He envisages the day when there will be "mighty streams of such students, flowing back and forth along the seaways and skyways," and when "the comradeship and understanding of such a world fellowship of the young" will play a role in making world cooperation "a working reality; and in time create a true world community." Mr. Mumford believes that "such a course of education in world citizenship" would be effective in awakening these young men and women "to the immense variety of other cultures," and at the same time to "their common humanity." Whether one goes all the way with Mr. Mumford in this proposal or not, he will recognize the vast possibilities of such a plan in the development of world understanding.

More international students are needed, that is, students of one country who are studying for a year or two in another country. In general, students will gain most from this experience if they are already college graduates or have the equivalent of a college education.

⁷ New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1951, p. 279.

SOCIAL WELFARE

SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL. By C. D. Samford and Eugene Cottle. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952, pp. iv+376.

In this book, designed for use of student teachers in a one-quarter course, a great deal of useful teaching material will be found, including extensive bibliographies on such subjects as problems of the beginning teacher, the social studies in the curriculum, textbooks in the social studies, recent changes in the social studies, and improvement of social studies instruction. Social studies are judged to include American history, world history and international relations, democracy, and community civics and occupational choices.

THE MODERN FAMILY. By Robert F. Winch. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1952, pp. xxi+522.

In this new text Robert Winch provides a systematic social-psychological frame of reference for the study of the modern family. The book is divided into five parts. Part I is intended to provide a general theoretical exposition of the family as an institution and to point out, rather than to explore completely, the range of its possible forms. In Part II the changing American family is analyzed in terms of the following five functions of the family: economic, status conferring, reproductive, socializing, and security providing.

Part III starts with a married couple weighing the advantages and disadvantages of having children. The infant is then traced through childhood and adolescence to adulthood, particular attention being given to interaction within the family. The individual whose growth has been followed to late adolescence or early adulthood is then found in Part IV embarking upon dating and courtship activities and ultimately getting married—thus completing the family cycle. Part V concludes the book with a brief but searching analysis of the critics of the family: those who "view with alarm" and those who are "hopeful."

The author commends himself to the student by holding the volume down to acceptable size and by placing fine summaries at the close of each chapter. The style is clear and easy. This book deserves wide consideration for textbook use.

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U.S.A., THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION. By the Editors of *Fortune* with the collaboration of Russell W. Davenport. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. 267.

This book, originally published as the February 1951 issue of *Fortune*, is made up of three parts and an introduction. Part I deals with the American Way of Life, the American Proposition, and the American System. The "American Proposition" finds its essence in "the sacredness of the free individual" and the accompanying rights. The principles of the American political system are liberty, equality, and constitutionalism.

Part II discusses the application of the Proposition in the four areas of business, politics, labor, and local community affairs. In the fourth area the significance and importance of voluntary organizations are illustrated in the concrete description of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Various problems are described in Part III, and in the last chapter "U.S. Foreign Policy" is discussed.

The authors believe that in the formulation of a sound policy for America, spiritual as well as military and economic considerations are necessary. The challenge to America is to recognize that "American freedom" has its being in principles which "do not belong to America, but to the world."

B.A.MCC.

YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE. By Gertrude Stephens Brown. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1951, pp. 488.

In this book, designed for use in the fifth grade, a pleasing, descriptive style of writing is combined with original and unusually attractive drawings, pictures (many in color), and maps. Salient facts are given not only regarding the development of the United States but also relative to Canada, Mexico, Central America, and South America. The book appears in the Tieg-Adams Social Studies Series.

WORLD POPULATION AND FUTURE RESOURCES. The Proceedings of the Second Centennial Academic Conference of Northwestern University. Edited by Paul K. Hatt. New York: American Book Company, 1952, pp. xviii+262.

The sociologist will find in this book a great deal of background material for the study of population. The topics include Future Growth of Population (Thompson), The Needs of World Population (Note-stein), World Food Needs and Resources (Fitzgerald), Atomic Energy and the World Economy (Dean), and Solar Energy (Daniels).

LIVE AND HELP LIVE. By S. H. Kraines and E. S. Thetford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951, pp. 408.

Basing their argument on the popular thesis that human problems can be solved by human intelligence, psychiatrists Kraines and Thetford have attempted to aid the layman in his conquest of personality difficulties and maladjustments. Primarily the subject material is woven around emotions and attitudes, with emphasis on overcoming their abnormal expressions. An excellent discussion is given to intellectual objectivity. The authors outline various barriers to rational thinking and point out how unreliable conclusions may be drawn from subjective experiences.

The book entertains conventional psychiatric postulates in an interesting and readable manner; however, there are no footnotes and little reference is made to scientific research data. The title is somewhat misleading; a better one might have been *Personality Obstructions to Socialization*.

WILLIAM J. SHARP

CRIME AND CORRECTION: SELECTED PAPERS. By Sheldon Glueck. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952, pp. x+273.

This is a collection of papers that have been published by various journals and that date back to 1927 and 1928. They include such topics as crime causation, the ministry of justice and the problem of crime, psychiatry and the criminal law, the future of American penology, the status of probation, and crime preventions. In the Introduction the author calls for "a deep-probing re-examination of the criminal law," for research "into the biologic and socio-cultural forces involved in stimulating, directing, and channeling human behavior," and asserts that new agencies of social reform need to be directed by "socially minded individuals."

PEACE, WAR AND YOU. By Jerome Davis. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952, pp. 282.

The writer starts with a faith in democracy, with the best of our American heritage, and with a belief in government of, by, and for the people, and "sounds the alarm against the current drift toward a Third World War." He urges his fellow Americans to protest against totalitarianism wherever it appears in foreign policies and practices of the United States, and to speak out "to halt the mad race of armaments." His "hints on waging peace" are supplemented by discussion topics and by readings.

E.S.B.

ARE WORKERS HUMAN? By Gordon Rattray Taylor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952, pp. 273.

A significantly meaningful statement occurs shortly after the opening paragraphs of this inquiry into the "why" of the frustrations of industrial man. It is this: "Now there is evidently something imperfect about a system that, while producing goods to make people's leisure more enjoyable, makes their working hours intolerable." This observational study is filled with comments about the present industrial system which are not in any way novel, but which can bear much repetition. The strike, for instance, is noted as an appalling failure of social cooperation; many workers find their jobs frustrating, exasperating, or futile; too much emphasis is placed upon attaining maximum output instead of personal contentment for the workers; only a few top managements have thus far taken the opportunity to avail themselves of social science research methods applied to industry. Taylor places special emphasis upon the use of social psychology in bettering human relations. Satisfaction of the needs of employees emphasized are those involving (1) self-determination, (2) going one's own pace, (3) a sense of task completion, (4) good emotional relations, (5) status and prestige, (6) security, (7) approval, (8) vanity and the need for variety, and (9) constructive activity. Management, Taylor declares, not only is blind to these needs but also wields the power of hurting employees by actions which make for suspicion and noncooperation. Moreover, it insists that the task of industry is one that concerns itself with technical and organizational problems alone, neglecting or forgetting those problems involving human relationships. The new industrial revolution visioned by Taylor would bring about the application of social science methodology to industrial relations, humanize work conditions, and allow employees to share in planning.

M.J.V.

THE SINGLE WOMAN TODAY. By M. B. Smith. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. 130.

The author, a single woman, covers a wide scope of topics but touches only briefly on each. She aims "to shed some light on the psychological and sociological aspects of the status of the single woman" today and "to point a finger in the direction where lie alleviating and socially acceptable compensations."

THOMAS JEFFERSON, SCIENTIST. By Edwin T. Martin. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952, pp. x+289.

The sociologist will find a number of points in this biography of genuine interest, for example, Jefferson's "insatiable desire to learn and to know," the universality of his interests, and his devotion to inventions. It is also interesting to read that his political ideas produced a "grossness of abuse" and "malignity of temper" carried to an unbounded excess and that he and his party were "attacked with a virulence which has nearly exceeded the ingenuity of grammarians to coin words adequate to its import." Jefferson's interest in science brought all kinds of denunciation and lies whirling about his head.

E.S.B.

AMERICAN URBAN COMMUNITIES. By Wilbur C. Hollenbeck. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. xi+617.

Hollenbeck has added a superior text to the important field of urban sociology. He has done a splendid job of defining basic terms, selecting vital problems, and grasping the human aspects of urban culture. The subject matter of the text examines (1) the rise of American cities, (2) major patterns of urban relationships, (3) the form and structure of cities, (4) organized life in cities, (5) urban institutions, (6) maladjustments and social stratification of urban people, and (7) the possibility of urban planning. One of the principal convictions of the author is that a culture determines the character and limitations of its various social forms. Hence, American cities must be seen in the light of American culture. The dominant factors in the American culture are defined as democracy and rapid technological change. Besides its wide coverage of the research literature on urbanism, the text is marked by a literary style of clarity and incisiveness.

E.C.M.

SOUTHERN PARISH. *The Dynamics of a City Church, Volume One.* By Joseph H. Fichter, S. J. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951, xi+283.

On one premise that Western culture is in a state of "anomie" (i.e., normlessness and want of social solidarity) and on another premise that Roman Catholicism is the institution which can bring about a reversal of this condition, the author and associates develop the hypothesis that "Catholicism will succeed or fail. . . reconstructing and reintegrating modern society, mainly, on the basis of the strength or weakness of its individual parishes." To test this hypothesis, the author and research team spent one year in a Southern parish, gathering statistical and inter-

view data on the relation between the "ideal type" behavior and beliefs of some six thousand parishioners and their overt religious behavior, as it was demonstrated by attendance and engagement in such Catholic rites as mass, confession, communion, Lent, retreat, etc. Although graphic representations simplify the findings, statistical analysis is limited to "averages." Interviews were also used to indicate to what extent "practical ideal Catholics" approached the "complete Christian ideology"—conclusion, about 50 per cent.

Although this first volume suffers from disassociation between hypothesis and data, weaknesses of "ex post facto" study design, and incomplete statistical analysis, its contribution lies in extensiveness, objectivity, use of "ideal type" methodology, and, most important, the emphasis on the Catholic Church as a social system.

COLUMBA O'GORMA

SEX AND THE LAW. By Morris Ploscowe. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. x+310.

The author of this book is undoubtedly a well-trained student of criminal law and criminology in America. The purpose of the study is to show the need of thoroughgoing reconstruction of our state laws on marriage, annulment, divorce, illegitimacy, psychopathic sex offenders, and prostitution. It is insisted that there must be properly organized and equipped preparation for the task of overhauling the present laws and providing more effective laws to replace the faulty ones we now have. This critical analysis should be useful for lawyers, social workers, and criminologists, so that the problems dealt with may be better defined for their professional cooperation in working toward better legislation.

J.E.N.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE PARISH. By C. J. Nuesse and Thomas J. Harte, Editors. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1951, pp. xi+354.

In the Foreword (written by Archbishop Samuel Cardinal Stritch) to this symposium the parish is described as "the ultimate normal territorial unit in the church." Further, "in the parish the pope . . . teaches, ministers, and governs," with the bishop and the pastor, each performing well-defined duties. But local conditions vary from parish to parish, and hence this book has been written to present parish organizations in rural and in urban communities, the nature of the parish census and the parish survey, the pastoral ministry in transition, and the missionary role of the parish, as seen by prominent Catholic leaders.

E.S.B.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

NORTH OF THE CIRCLE. By Frank Illingworth. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. 254.

The author is well acquainted with life inside the Circle, with Eskimos and adventurers, particularly those who find themselves "unsuited to civilization" and wish to exile themselves. Such persons stay either because they cannot face the exacting demands of civilization or because the North has for them a great fascination. Women are rare and their influence great; the fewer the women, "the greater the consumption of liquor."

The Eskimo is described as "a likeable, honest, jocular philosopher." A motion picture audience of Eskimos laughed at a picture of war, but why? They laughed "at the stupidity of the white men blowing up each other's homes." In fact, "they have no word for war." The North is being made over by the strategy of a possible World War III, and it is not surprising "that the Lapp, the Eskimo, and the Northern Indian should look at the white man as deranged." Only in Greenland has there been intermarriage between Eskimos and white men, and there a new ethnic group is developing, the Greenlander. The book is full of interesting developments in life inside the Circle, for instance, of men living in nylon tents.

E.S.B.

MINORITIES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. Charles F. Marden. New York: American Book Company, 1952, pp. 493.

In this book on ethnic relations the author has attempted to examine the reciprocal relations between minorities and what he calls the "dominant" group. It is his contention that most texts in this area concentrate too much on particular aspects of the ethnic group under consideration and fail to indicate the interactional implications between ethnic groups. Frankly, the author could have gone much further and demonstrated the importance of intraethnic relations, a truly neglected area in the reciprocal aspects of the subject. Adequate coverage is given to the following groups: European minorities, Mexicans, Negroes, Indians, Catholics, and Jews. It might be indicated that within the Protestant denominations are distinct ethnic groups too, such as the Friends, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Latter-day Saints. The concluding chapter of the book is devoted to an analysis of action groups and programs. This text is readable, objective, and usable.

E.C.M.

ONE AMERICA. Edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, pp. xvi+764.

The editors have done a splendid job of revising this well-known text on ethnic relations in America. Part One consists of several introductory chapters on the meaning and backgrounds of minorities. Part Two analyzes forty-four minorities in terms of historical factors, periods of immigration, cultural problems, and contributions to the American culture. In most instances the description of a given minority has been written by a member of that particular minority. In Part Three the reader will find a discussion of the activities of minority groups including foreign language press, organizations of minority groups, and political activities. Part Four points up some of the more important racial and cultural conflicts of minorities. Trends toward "cultural democracy" serve as a conclusion to the text.

There are certain obvious strong points in this work: (1) it contains probably a wider coverage of minorities than any competing text, (2) a ring of authority is detected in most of the selected readings, and (3) a definite effort has been made to give the reader the most recent facts, figures, and trends in ethnic relations. However, there appear certain weaknesses in this book: (1) the very wide coverage of ethnic groups has made the analysis scant and perhaps uneven, (2) some minorities seem to have "contributed" more to the American culture than others if the readings are taken at face value, and (3) it is a question whether or not there are the following "minorities in the United States at the present time: British, Irish, Canadians, and French. In spite of observed weaknesses in this text, it is likely to be successful because of its sweep of information and its constructive spirit toward cultural differences.

E.C.M.

THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA. By T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952, pp. xviii+272.

In this thoroughgoing study of a circumscribed population area, a wide range of demographic facts are presented dealing with race, age, sexes, marital condition, educational and occupational status, birth rate, mortality, migration, and redistribution. More important, the authors relate these data as they proceed, to community and national life, to population theory, to public policy and planning, and to private planning. Hence, the authors justifiably conclude that "population is truly everybody's business."

E.S.B.

DENMARK IS A LOVELY LAND. By Hudson Strode. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951, pp. 298.

The author writes with a felicitous hand concerning the scenery and the life of Denmark. Special attention is given in a favorable sense to education, agriculture, industry, social security, socialized medicine, and cooperatives. He finds that the latter are indispensable in Denmark because of the health and vigor which they give to the life of the people.

SOCIAL THEORY

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION. By George A. Miller. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 298.

The author, a psychologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, reviews his own book, quite fairly, with the statement: "The bias is behavioristic. . . not fanatically behavioristic, but certainly tainted by preference." He gives lip service to the axiom, found in some form in all books on this topic, that "communication, if it is anything at all, is a *social* event." Like other behaviorists, however, he tends to reduce the social to nonsocial units, largely biophysical manifestations labeled "tangible stimuli and responses." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that 248 pages deal with experimental data on what might be properly dubbed the "substrata of communication."

Attention is focused on phonetics, acoustics, speech-perception, and such "symbolic" and "verbal" behavior as may be observed without the benefit of the mentalistic concepts and plausible fictions of the field theorists and others who assume the "subjective attitude toward meaning." The author admits "occasional subjective lapses" on his own part. He is, for example, forced to use findings of some of the dreaded field theorists in handling "purely configurational" problems (e.g., thinking known as "restructuring and recoding" in behavioristic jargon). Despite a few such brief heresies, Miller manages to reserve the "Social Approach" for a final chapter of twenty-six pages. Here he deals with social communication—a tautological expression, in view of the truism in the Preface. Significantly, he deals with this now doubly social topic, as careful content-analysis discloses, without any reference whatever to the 248 pages of prolegomena. Significantly also, he shows only a superficial acquaintance with the voluminous literature on "social communication," in contrast to the scope and competence of his earlier survey of literature on the substrata.

Indeed, the author's competence in his own special area serves to underscore the inadequacy of his method of handling social data, which is to reduce them to nonsocial data. This procedure influences nominalists, operating under behaviorism and other tags, to caricature science while posing as its apostles. Thus they introduce chance variables without being aware of it, thinking that they are really developing science. Miller's work, in this regard, may be fairly characterized in the words of Comte as another of the "vain attempts of several geometricians to carry out a positive science of society by applying to it a delusive theory of chance." Miller would perhaps disavow the objective of a "positive science of society," but, as he has himself designated his subject matter as a form of social action, the criticism would appear to fit.

J. B. FORD

Los Angeles State College

PERSONALITY AND PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT. By Kimball Young. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952, pp. ix+716.

This is the second, but extensively rewritten, reorganized, and improved edition of this book. The author has written in his usual sprightly style and has given the book added merit by the restatement of modern learning theory, the introduction of new materials disclosing the research work of Horney, Kardiner, Fromm, and other neo-Freudians, and a good, brisk presentation of projective techniques for the study of personality. Unique and long deserving of recognition by social psychologists is Appendix B, which gives suggestions on the use of motion pictures in the study of personality and a list of films so designed. The two parts of the book deal with the foundations of personality and selected problems of personal adjustment. The theme of this edition is that culture is a main determinant of personality, however largely nondeliberative or unconscious it may be in its interaction with the individual. The assembly of materials and their synthesis into an integrated whole are deftly accomplished, a task not too easy when one considers the wealth of materials now at the disposal of the social psychologists, cultural anthropologists, and psychoanalysts. Another commendable feature of the book is the inclusion in the discussion on neurotic manifestations of personality of three tables outlining the forms, symptoms, and adjustive functions of the psychoneuroses, the functional psychoses, and certain organic psychoses. A glossary of terms may be found at the conclusion of the text.

M.J.V.

THE ART OF ASKING QUESTIONS. By Stanley L. Payne. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 249.

It is the author's belief that the matter of asking questions is an art, not an exact science. Stouffer is quoted as observing that most of the difficulties in getting at the factors in public opinion are reflected in the design of questions and not in sample technique. It might be observed that the analysis of raw data is approaching a science, but the method of gathering social data has a long way to go to match statistical analyses. Basic progress in sociology will be made in learning how to ask the right questions in the right way. Some of the most important areas discussed in this work are types of questions, loading of questions, brevity, simplification of vocabulary (a basic vocabulary of 1,000 words is presented), words not to use in questions, and a check list of 100 considerations to help evaluate the questionnaire. Since the asking of questions is an art and not a science, all readers can profit by a study of this valuable handbook. The main criticism of this important work concerns the author's use of popular statements for chapter titles, which seems to lessen the solid advice and thinking of chapter content. This criticism is a mere technicality.

E.C.M.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCIENCE. A SURVEY OF METHODS, RESEARCH AND TEACHING. Publication No. 426 of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Copyright 1950 by UNESCO, Paris. U.S. Agent: Columbia University Press, New York City.

This UNESCO report consists of two parts. The first, including 25 papers by different authors, explores the role of political science in about an equal number of countries, though several of the writers have been more general in their appraisal of political science. The second group of papers, some 23 in number, may be consulted for views concerning specific fields of interest: political institutions; parties, groups, and public opinion; international relations; and the organization of teaching and research. In this second part the emphasis has been given to the United States, France, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, and more incidentally to a few other countries. The scope of all these papers is wide, is representative of the views of spokesmen for many members of the United Nations, and at the same time objectifies theories and problems in political science within the frame of reference for a particular UNESCO project. Though the articles are very readable, their lasting value will be found in their usefulness in research.

J.E.N.

THE QUEST FOR UTOPIA. By Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952, pp. 599.

This anthology of imaginary societies contains, for the most part, rare and inaccessible utopias. There are twenty-five such utopias presented in chronological order. The selections are not given *in toto* and, although they have been condensed in form, there has been no paraphrasing or other alteration of the original works. This condensation factor is compensated for by some cogent introductory and interpretative essays. The authors have intentionally omitted those utopias whose descriptions are readily available to the reader and have selected a list of utopian works that are relevant and significant to an understanding of historical idealism, especially from the years 1850 to 1950.

The book is especially valuable as a reference volume in the study of contemporary ideologies. It is this reader's opinion, however, that the compilation has been done partly for the pleasant reading it affords. Although, as Louis Mumford has said, "It is our utopias that make the world tolerable to us," one should be ever cognizant that brilliant fantasies are what may be or what one would wish to be, but not what is.

NICK MASSARO

CULTURE AND SOCIETY. By Francis E. Merrill and H. Wentworth Eldredge. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, pp. xi+611.

In this book, designed as an introductory text in sociology, the authors have utilized the cultural approach to strong advantage. With it they have combined the group approach but have followed a traditional structural arrangement for such texts. The twenty-nine chapters are arranged in the following six parts: culture and society, social structure and personality, population (race) and social structure, collective behavior, the community and social institutions, and social interaction involving change and planning. The authors believe "that the ultimate function of the study of man should be the enhancement of his welfare" and hence bring the text to a close with an emphasis on social planning. The style is readable, the photographs are an interesting addition, but as in all such texts the order of treatment of topics calls for dexterity in logical arrangement. To make social dynamics identical with social change hardly seems adequate, and, on the other hand, to speak of the "dynamics of culture" is more a figure of speech than a reality, for it is in human beings that social dynamics is generated.

E.S.B.

GERMANY AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. By Hans J. Morgenthau, editor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. viii+180.

This volume presents the fifteen lectures given at the twenty-sixth institute of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation at the University of Chicago. The participants examine the economic, cultural, political, and social situation of postwar Germany in the light of her future relations with the West. Dr. Morgenthau speaks of the natural superiority of Germany and believes that "the control of Germany means first of all the control of the minds of Germans." Contrary to the belief of others, Morgenthau is able to observe a self-denazification process and assumingly accepts as real that today "pacificism is espoused in Germany in the name of German nationalism." Dr. Niehbur finds Germany still a risk, but maintains that by necessity she must become a part of the world community to overcome isolation and to achieve economic as well as moral health.

The economists question an occupation policy which supports or actually enforces an economic policy contrary to that of the United States and Great Britain. They maintain that this policy leads to gross economic inequalities and political discontent in Germany.

Howard Becker offers an amiable discussion of "German Families Today," which deals primarily with a small rural region of western Germany. He eliminates the "rehearsed efforts" of some "experts" on German family relations whose main contributions consisted in the perpetuation of the threefold legend of *Kinder, Kueche, und Kirche* (children, kitchen, and church). But all in all, the question of how we can "pacify" the German "mind" and at the same time prepare the Germans for the defense of the West remains unanswered.

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF
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ESSAYS IN PROVOCATION. Letters, Essays and Addresses. By Glenn E. Hoover. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 226.

Aside from three addresses and one article, the book contains reprints of fifty-seven letters that Professor Hoover of Mills College has written in recent years to periodicals and public officials, checking up on their loose or ill-founded thinking on economic, political, and social issues. The author writes with penetration and sharpness of detail, a nice balance of tact and subtle sarcasm, and always in a way to stimulate thinking. It would be interesting to know what kind of reply he received to each of these essay-letters.

E.S.B.

BACKWOODS UTOPIAS. By Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, pp. xii+288.

Beginning with Plockhoy's Commonwealth established at what is now Lewes, Delaware, in 1663, this monograph is devoted to a study of the sectarian and Owenite phases of "Communitarian Socialism" in America from 1663 to 1829. A feature of the study is the author's definition of the communitarian point of view—the idea of creating a perfect society by establishing it first on a small scale in experimental communities. By this means it would be possible to avoid revolution and proceed with virtually no delay to gradual social reform.

The study includes an excellent analysis of Robert Owen's writings on the subject, notes factors in the reception of Owenism in America, appraises the New Harmony experiment (which is described as a study in dissonance), and in broader terms considers the nature of the Owenite legacy. There is a valuable check list of communitarian experiments arranged according to three periods of time—prior to 1825, from 1825 to 1839, and from 1840 to 1860. Shakers, Owenites, Fourierists, and other sectarian communities are listed in chronological order for each class. Students of the problems and principles of cooperative community organization, whether utopian or practical, will no doubt welcome this book.

J.E.N.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS.

By Paul Hubert Casselman. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. xiii+178.

The author is an economist and a member of the faculty of the University of Ottawa. In the Foreword, Dr. M. M. Coady, former president of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, says of the book that it will serve as "a prod to the reactionary among us, a brake to the over-enthusiastic within our ranks, and a deathblow to those who through selfish reasons refuse to change."

The chapter on Education in the Cooperative Movement is one of the most important. The author is fully alert to the essential role that education plays in the development of cooperatives and emphasizes several "convictions" that are vital to the role of a cooperator. A sane treatment is given to the relation of cooperatives to the state and to their opposition to statism. The basic distinctions between cooperatives and socialism are made clear. The ways in which cooperatives are paying all legitimate taxes are pointed out.

Among the essentials of cooperative activities are these: (1) the placing of economic control in the hands of as many individual citizens as possible, with as little reliance on the state as possible; (2) reliance on the institution of private property and free enterprise as exceeding that of any other economic system; (3) elimination of unnecessary middlemen, removal of useless duplication, and eradication of misleading advertising and high-pressure salesmanship; (4) avoidance of conspicuous consumption of goods; (5) stabilization of employment and peaceful improvement of employer-employee conditions; (6) training people to do things for themselves instead of relying on the government; (7) a fair return to capital, but no speculation or gambling in stocks; (8) the supplanting of materialism by moral and humanitarian standards. The author has succeeded in clarifying a number of problems of cooperatives and his book deserves a wide reading.

E.S.B.

PIONEERS OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL THOUGHT. By Richard Hare. London: Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. vi+307.

This is a profoundly interesting book, made so not only by revealing the social thought of the non-Marxian Russian thinkers of the early nineteenth century, but also by showing something of the flow of this distinctly Russian thought into the present. A kind of theme note of preparation for this is struck in the Preface, where the English author Hare declares: "Though many Russian statesmen and officials did their utmost to behave like liberals, and honestly strove to make Western institutions work, we must by now admit that what is called the liberal outlook never struck root in Russia. . . . provides us with one more object lesson in the fallacy of trying to measure even the most Westernized Russian thought by the yardstick of European or American counterparts." Among the early Russian thinkers selected by the author may be found Chaadayev, Pecherin, Ogarev, Belinsky, Kireyevsky, Khomyakov, Samarin, Chernyshevsky, Herzen, and Leontiev.

Many of the Russian thinkers were Slavophiles, a fact which, according to Hare, should have signified their preferential love for Slavs, but which, through some singularity in the Russian mind, led to hatred or distrust of foreigners as well, not on grounds of being alien by virtue of race, but by virtue of not accepting the Russian kind of Christianity. Pecherin (1807-85) and Herzen (1812-70) both agreed on one interesting prophecy, namely, that Russia with the United States would start a new cycle of world history, Russia probably being the first to established and successfully develop a Socialist society. Pecherin did not

like the meaning of this prophecy, for to him it implied nothing more nor less than the coming tyranny of a colossal materialist civilization.

Belinsky (1811-48) made an accidental contribution to the present brand of national socialism. Soviet critics "have laboured conscientiously to build him up . . . as the far-sighted revolutionary who had preached the subordination of literature and art to the needs of the 'progressive state' —i.e., to the social imperatives of the ruling intellectuals." This was not what Belinsky had in mind, but what he wrote could be so interpreted. Chernyshevsky (1828-89), one of the most Westernized of the thinkers, never gave up his belief that Europe was more civilized and advanced than Russia and that Russia must follow Europe. It was he who first expounded the march of historical determinism as one of the factors by which the laws of social progress might be ascertained. Leontiev (1831-91) hated Russian liberals and felt that the democracies of Europe would be "even more bitterly hostile to the Russian Empire than monarchical Europe had ever been." Europe's decline was to be Russia's golden opportunity. The readers of this volume will understand Soviet Russian thought the better for having read it, since many of the early thinkers have been revived in some form by the leaders of the Soviet.

M.J.V.

THE FAMILY IN VARIOUS CULTURES. By Stuart A. Queen and John B. Adams, New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1952, pp. 280.

The purpose of this book was to assemble in convenient form "comparable" data about various family systems. It is an attempt to combine the comparative and historical approaches to the understanding of different family systems in eleven different cultures.

The authors have condensed the recent research studies of anthropologists on contemporary preliterate cultures with historical studies on the early Christians, Anglo-Saxons, Medieval English, ancient Hebrews, and the ancient Romans. If they have not fully succeeded in their task, it is understandable for the obvious reason that understanding of an institution in one culture setting in history does not necessarily allow valid generalization in respect to the organization and behavior of individuals in another culture setting.

However, the authors have succeeded in showing the universality of the family in all cultures and the necessity for this primary institution. The conciseness in the presentation of the material makes the book a valuable reference text in an introductory course in the study of the family.

NICK MASSARO

CHANGING ATTITUDES THROUGH SOCIAL CONTACT. By Leon Festinger and Harold H. Kelley. Ann Arbor: Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, 1951, pp. 83.

This document gives a report on an experimental study of a housing project (Regent Hill) in Baytown, a city of about 30,000. The people in the new project were shipbuilders and their families, who as newcomers of a lower status were viewed with hostility by the residents of Baytown. A great deal of hostility was expressed by members of the project toward each other. Community workers were employed to develop social activities in the project. The authors posit a "communication theory of attitude change." Hostile attitudes gave way to friendly ones where contacts were accompanied by favorable reactions from associates of the hostile-minded persons toward the objects of the original hostile attitudes. This theory merits further research. E.S.B.

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT. By J. S. Slotkin. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. 401.

Professor Slotkin has written a book which has utilized the varied empirical data of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and psychiatry from which to derive an integrated conceptualization of personality development, with emphasis on the first five years of life. As a social anthropologist he emphasizes the social and cultural factors in personality development, although their subtle interplay with the inherited factors is not neglected.

The author divides the book into four basic parts: Inheritance, Socialization, Culturization, and Individualization. As he develops and ties concept to concept he continually cites from clinical and other data to illustrate his propositions. He thus is able to explain reasonably well gregariousness, desire for approbation, and other aspects of personality as socially derived phenomena, delivering them from the instinctual connotations that have so long cloaked them. In order to describe adequately the interaction of the individual with his social environment, Slotkin has developed several new concepts, such as normalization, sensibility, index role. Refinements of these may prove necessary, but generally they point toward useful and valid distinctions of relevant phenomena.

In attempting to isolate the inherited from the social aspects of personality, the author has used data concerning feral children and the so-called psychopathic personality as controls. Considering the dubious

regard in which feral data are held and the inconclusiveness concerning the etiology of the psychopathic personality, the author's derivations from comparisons of these types may require more adequate substantiation. In general, the author's conclusions are neither forced nor a result of a biased selection of data, but stem from a fusion of expert clinical knowledge and a social point of view.

JEROME GREEN

THE ANATOMY OF COMMUNISM. By Andrew Ma. Kay Scott. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. xvi+197.

Marxism and contemporary communism are analyzed critically and realistically in order to expose what is false in these ideologies or, at best, only half true. The analytical method has been used as superior to the historical method so that the reader's attention may be focused on the relatively changeless elements, that is, on the recurring elements in Marxist and Communist thought rather than the unique.

In Part I it is shown that several of the more important elements in the Marxian theoretical system are fallacious. In Part II the emphasis is on the actual relation of Marxist and Marxist-Leninist thought to Communist practice. Throughout this analysis, owing to its direct criticism, the author has presented numerous citations from unimpeachable sources, to avoid any possible charge of distortion. Though not large as books go, it should prove useful for its frank appraisal of communism.

J.E.N.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF PEACE AND WAR. Edited by T. H. Pear. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 261.

In this collected work nine well-known psychologists have written essays and statements on important aspects of war and peace. Topics considered are war and culture patterns, war and aggressiveness, personality and attitudes toward warfare, women in peace and war, some neglected aspects of world integration, guide lines for research in international cooperation, some psychological studies of the German character, threats and security, and statistics of fatal quarrels. Gordon Allport, to cite one of the contributors, notes that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed. Allport believes that children must grow up in an atmosphere of international understanding rather than nationalistic centrism. He suggests a training period of about twenty-five years in which children

might learn to appreciate symbols of peace and humanity. To him "adults are the bigots." These thoughts by psychologists are very challenging, but the problem of reaching the man behind the "iron curtain" is not faced very clearly. The real question before the world is how free men may communicate the symbols of peace to the minds of men under totalitarian governments.

E.C.M.

STATISTICAL METHODS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS. By Wayne McMillen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952, pp. xi+564.

This book has two outstanding characteristics, one of which is that it is a noteworthy treatise on social statistics. It presents clearly defined explanations of the usual aspects of introductory statistics, such as ratios, frequency distribution, means, sampling, variability, time series, correlation, the making of statistical tables, and their graphic presentation.

The other noteworthy characteristic is that all the materials used in the discussions—tables, charts, and graphs—are drawn from the field of social welfare. This procedure will help greatly in developing the interest of social workers and of students in sociology in statistical procedure. A side product of considerable moment stems from the fact that the book contains a great deal of relatively current data regarding social welfare. The bibliography and the sixteen appendixes dealing chiefly with tabular materials that are added will prove useful for quick reference purposes.

E.S.B.

LIVING WITHOUT HATE. By Alfred J. Marrow. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. xii+269.

Anyone these days who is interested in fomenting peaceful ways of living deserves respectful attention. With the subtitle "Scientific Approaches to Human Relations," this book devotes itself to the problems of tensions and their relaxation. The author is president of the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation and a psychologist in his own right. Basing his method on the "action research" concept of the late psychologist Kurt Lewin, he has sought to present studies in varied fields, all designed to indicate how human relationships may be improved.

Two of the chapters relate to studies in the dynamics of management and employee relations in Marrow's textile plant. In the first of these is related the breaking down of the stereotype that older women in industrial plants are less efficient than younger women. Research Director J. R. French tested four points embedded in the stereotype of this particular prejudice, namely, production per man-hour, speed in learning

new skills, days lost through illness, and rate of turnover. Management participated in the testing, which resulted in demonstrating that the women in the age group from 31 to 35 and over came out superior to younger women on all four points. The second study in the plant related to the hostility manifested by workers against the introduction of technological changes. The workers were divided into three groups; the first was introduced to the changes without discussion, the second was confronted with the change through their own representatives' explanation of the reasons for the change, and the third group of workers met with management and discussed the proposed change. After the change, the first group dropped in output and cooperation and even filed grievances, the second group recovered in output by the end of thirty days and then exceeded its previous record, the third group hit the usual level of productivity after two days and achieved 14 per cent more output shortly after. Democratic discussion had proved its worth for both management and workers. The book recites several other action studies involved with experiments in the riddance of prejudice in the ethnic, cultural, and religious fields.

M.J.V.

ANATOMY OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Norman John Powell. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. xi+619.

The underlying thesis of this book is that "generalizations and data about public opinion and propaganda are generalizations and data about the structure and distribution of power and freedom in the community." It is interesting to note how closely public opinion and propaganda are tied together in the foregoing statement and throughout the book. A chapter appears on groups and individuals as "public opinion and propaganda instruments." Two extensive chapters are given to a discussion of the bases, propositions, and applications of propaganda. It is also significant that the author views public opinion and propaganda as aspects of the distribution of both human power and human freedom.

Propaganda is formally defined as "the spreading of ideas or attitudes that influence opinions or behavior or both." By giving so great a breadth of definition to propaganda it would appear that the author would have to include teaching, ordinary conversation, reading. In this connection, public opinion is "what takes place before or after, or despite or because of propaganda's effects." Together, propaganda and public opinion are regarded as "two interrelated points in the process of communicating ideas, attitudes, and beliefs."

Four chapters treat the press, motion pictures, radio, and television, respectively. Perhaps the two most important chapters are those on measurement of public opinion. The concluding chapter deals with the role of public opinion in a democracy. It is followed by "projects and questions," and by references. The book deserves wide and critical attention.

E.S.B.

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY. By Margaret Mead. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 148.

This is a Rand Corporation research study that is particularly timely. It offers an interdisciplinary approach to the problems of Soviet character. Attention is given to the patterns of behavior between those in authority and those over whom they have authority. There is also a consideration of the problems of creating the new Soviet man through adult education, political indoctrination, new forms of organization, and the attempt to bring up children to fit the new ideals. Soviet attitudes toward compromise, their sincerity or lack of it, and other data are contrasted with Western attitudes. Questions regarding the internal structure of the Soviet Union are also pertinent. Data that would be useful for further research are included in the appendix section of the book.

J.E.N.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.
Edited by Clyde M. Campbell. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. x+325.

In this symposium a considerable number of qualified persons discuss "the concept of educational leadership in a free society" and describe possible ways of putting educational programs in public school settings.

SOCIAL FICTION

JEFFERSON SELLECK. A novel by Carl Jonas. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952, pp. xiii+303.

Carl Jonas' new novel brings back memories not only of Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* but also of the Lynds' *Middletown*. Jefferson Selleck is already dead at the opening of the story. During a six-month interval of supposed convalescence, his physician and friend prevails upon him to write his memoirs as the story of a successful Midwestern businessman who has spent nearly all of his life in Gateway, a town of about ninety thousand, and who has seen the hand of change sweep over the country—changes in political ideas, in business methods, and in governmental policies. Novelist Jonas' device makes for interesting reading and the one-dimensional effect is broadened considerably by having the supposed editor of the memoirs, Dr. Crocker, introduce comments upon the memorabilia and inject letters from Jeff's wife, daughter, and son by way of comment upon how differently they saw the situation from the way it was recorded.

Selleck, by his own revelation, had been a stand-pat Republican all his life. He yearned for the return of Harding and Coolidge, unparalleled administrations of national prosperity, growth, and plenty. He hated F. D. R., the New Deal, and Trumanism. He subscribed regularly to the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, *Time*, *United States News and World Report*, and *The Reader's Digest*. He had served as a Commander of the Legion Post in Gateway after having been awarded a Distinguished Service Cross as platoon sergeant in the First World War. He had been a member of the Carpe Diem Business Men's Club, the Sleepy Hollow Country Club, and the Hound and Hare Club of Gateway. In 1938 he had headed the Community Chest Drive, and during the Second World War had served as Air Raid Warden in his home district.

Philistine to the core, he reports that the crash of 1929 would have been just another Wall Street panic if Mr. Hoover had been allowed to correct the abuses in the system, but, no, the people put into office a Pied Piper whose only policy seemed to be that of making the disaster of the moment a permanent condition. The man Roosevelt assaulted the whole philosophy of business, a philosophy so simple that any child could have understood it. Enterprise began it, this created earning, and earning

created saving, from saving was derived investment. Thus the spiral was completed and went on and on to continuous enrichment. But the New Deal ruined the spiral and with it, good business practices. All this, despite the fact that his own business, Yaw-et-tag, had prospered throughout the New Deal! Jeff called himself a middle-of-the-roader—a conservative perhaps but not a reactionary, as his son Tom labeled him. However, if to be a New Dealer was to be a middle-roader, then he would accept himself as a reactionary, one whose value to society lies in the fact that society needs to have someone keep the brakes on when change alters things too rapidly. The author has portrayed his modern Babbitt with flashes of brilliant insight and has left the reader with a case history that is absorbing from start to finish.

M.J.V.

Sociology and Social Research

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Articles in Forthcoming Issues . . .

September-October 1952 and later

- Patterned Response to Sex Segregation CHARLES B. SPAULDING
Leadership among Japanese Americans JOHN H. BURMA
Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency E. F. AND P. V. YOUNG
A Revolution in Recreation NORMAN S. HAYNER
The Core of Juvenile Delinquency CHARLES J. BROWNING
Cooperation in Finland JOHN E. OWEN
Racial Inter-marriage in Los Angeles RANDALL RISSON
Stone-Age Culture of Mayans RAY W. BABER
Bureaucracy and British Socialism J. B. MONTAGUE, JR.
The Sociology of Social Planning BESSIE A. MCCLENAHAN
The Eta: Japan's Indigenous
Minority H. H. SMYTHE AND C. TSUZUKI
Shredded Men and Desiccated Society ROCKWELL D. HUNT
Predicting Inter-marriage SIMON MARCSON
Social Elements in Norwegian Poetry CECIL E. LARSEN
Acquaintance Positions in the Group ROY C. BUCK
Member Participation and Consumer
Cooperatives ALFRED SHEETS
Assimilation of Japanese in Texas M. S. BROOKS AND K. KUNIHIRO
Estimating Population of Census Tracts ROBERT C. SCHMITT
Social Distance and Change in the
Near East E. T. PROTHRO AND L. MELIKIAN
Predicting Success or Failure on Parole DAVID S. MILNE

Articles in Preceding Issue . . .

May-June 1952

- Social Action and Social Research ARNOLD M. ROSE
Stability of Greta Green
Marriages W. M. KEPHART AND R. B. STROHM
The New Urban Fringe NOEL P. GIST
Labor under Review: 1951 MELVIN J. VINCENT
Familism and Attitude toward
Divorce H. E. FREEMAN AND M. SHOWEL
Acculturation of Chinese Americans ROBERT LEE
The Bogardus Social Distance Scale DONALD T. CAMPBELL